PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES

BY

EUGEN KAHN

Sterling Professor of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene
Yale University

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

H. FLANDERS DUNBAR

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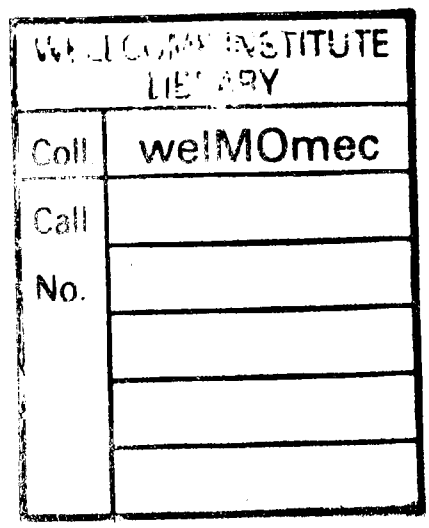

PREFACE

THIS book was first published in German as a part of Bumke's *Handbuch der Geisteskrankheiten*. The courtesy of Dr. Oswald Bumke, the editor, and Mr. Julius Springer, the publisher, made it possible to print an English translation. I highly appreciate their kindness.

The book contains a good deal of my psychiatric experience, extending over about nineteen years, and I may say it contains also a sort of creed of mine concerning psychiatry, psychology, and the young science of personality. It is understandable that I wanted to have it translated into English after my coming to Yale. Some of my colleagues in this country encouraged me.

It happened that I could get the help of Dr. H. Flanders Dunbar, who made the translation with unusual zeal and ability. Only when I read her translation was I entirely able to judge the enormous difficulties of the work I had asked her to do. I am glad to express here my sincere gratitude to and appreciation of my colleague, Dr. Dunbar, and the work she has accomplished.

I wish to thank Mr. Malcolm W. Davis and Mr. Eugene A. Davidson, of the Yale University Press, for their valuable assistance and advice; my associate, Dr. Lloyd J. Thompson, for his suggestions; and my secretary, Mrs. Evelyn A. Randles, for her indefatigable help.

Last, not least, I thank my revered friend, Dr. Raymond Dodge. He read the galleys with me in a spirit which turned work into pleasure—into the perfect pleasure of amicable coöperation.

E. K.

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PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE problems presented by psychopathic personalities are inseparable from all the other problems of psychiatry. In other words in every general connection as well as in every specific case one may ask: What here is psychopathic, or to what extent is the psychopathic element of significance?

Recent as is the recognition of "psychopathic inferiority" as an "entity" in psychiatric literature—it goes back to Koch—the number of pertinent single and collective treatises is not to be overlooked. Kurt Schneider has given (1923 and 1928) an admirable review. It is not possible to mention here all the works which bear on the question, let alone to consider them in detail, nevertheless the more important publications will appear in the bibliography.

The matter of psychopathic personality presents today no inconsiderable difficulty, as becomes apparent on brief reflection. Psychopathic personalities at first, and until a relatively short time ago were considered generally from the clinical standpoint. The psychopath was observed and described. To be sure his experience was occasionally "reëxperienced" by the psychiatrist who depicted and described, but even this took place only within very definite limits. It was for instance in legal cases the custom to describe and assert: instability, excitability, antisocial tendencies; but only very slowly and unwillingly did the psychiatrist come to look beneath the surface instability, excitability, antisocial tendencies. On the other hand a complete renun-

ciation of the more differentiated psychological conceptions was impossible for clinical investigation. The hysterical psychopaths with their psychic and motor mechanisms cry out only too loudly for analytic insight. The description of the hysterical character by Kraepelin came in the golden age of the clinical period but nevertheless soon moved clearly in the direction of a better psychological orientation. Kraepelin himself, however, always grouped psychopaths according to a descriptive classification and the clinicians have followed him in the main. Differences in the nomenclature of single forms and in clinical differentiation have not brought any considerable change. Even the last comprehensive treatise by Kurt Schneider is to be valued chiefly as a clinical contribution, as little as one can fail to recognize this author's fruitful endeavor to deepen psychological insight.

We must admit today that "purely clinically" we can accomplish as little with psychopaths as with psychotics. This means, as will be shown later, not a complete renunciation of the clinical point of view (which moreover would be scarcely possible to this generation influenced by Kraepelin) but on the contrary merely a certain limitation of it. The latter indeed has been demanded in many quarters for some time.

Admitting that understanding of the psychopath through differentiation and multiplication of recognized types did not and could not develop beyond a certain dead point, the question nevertheless remains: Whence, in spite of all this, has come the stimulus to growth? The clinician as such had always considered his psychopaths with remarkable reserve. The reason for this lies not only in the peculiarity of a portion of his psychopathic material in the mental hospitals of the larger and smaller cities, but also in the whole psy-

chiatric attitude, an attitude—it should not be denied—never sufficiently free from moral evaluations of these border-line cases, an attitude which has emphasized the "inferiority" and prevented the giving of serious consideration to many communications of the patient. That which one saw and could describe might be regarded as true and scientific, but that which "these psychopaths" told spontaneously appeared as too little dependable to be accepted as scientific.

Exactly at this point—for many reasons in strong contrast to the ruling clinical opinion—comes in the teaching of Freud. With him there began an analyzing of psychopathic personalities which permitted itself to start from the subjective communications of the patient and to seek the significance of these productions for the personality and its behavior. An analysis of the controversy for and against Freud would certainly be in place in a treatise on the subject of psychopathic personalities. Yet here, that which has been said so often on both sides will not be repeated; by preference only that which is essential to the present purpose will be touched upon briefly.

First and most prominent to meet with the repudiation of the clinician was the "pan-sexualism" of the Freudian teaching; later attack was directed against the doctrine of psychic processes below the threshold of consciousness. But in the meantime the mechanism of repression came to be accepted—in part silently, in part officially. It is now current even in those quarters where there is no desire to recognize anything of unconscious psychic processes. The controversy with regard to this latter subject appears, practically speaking, to amount to nothing more than a dispute over terminology. No one questions the variable clarity of our consciousness and its content, and the fact that specific

conscious contents appear at times in greater or less clearness, and at times may lie even in complete darkness. Thus with Kretschmer and Schilder one may speak about spheres and spherical instead of unconscious processes, leaving to the theorists the controversy concerning the unconscious. Otherwise with the general acceptance of the repression mechanisms one finds one's self at a loss when faced with the question: Into what do we repress?

In the meantime one thing is not to be overlooked: many devotees of the idea of spheres of consciousness and of the unconscious[1] make far too extensive use of these concepts. In psychopaths of all sorts not least among hysterics, there are any number of psychic processes which together with their derivation are completely conscious and can be surveyed by the subject. Very frequently in such cases the wish to take the "royal road" over the unconscious becomes a game—in which the psychotherapist is not usually the leader. Undoubtedly the intricacies of the depth psychology recall the creating of major hysterias, which was especially evident at the height of French teaching on hysteria. In other words there are certainly many artificial products of psychoanalysis which, in my opinion, are erroneously regarded by master and adepts as representing in the person analyzed actually fundamental and valid material from the deep layers of consciousness. Finally, it is not altogether a novel observation that particularly in psychopaths, it is possible, through suggestive questioning, to bring into the mind of the

[1] The unconscious is not only a reservoir for repressed material but has also productive functions. To this fact Jung has repeatedly called attention. Furthermore, he has written consistently concerning the collective unconscious but it is only possible here to refer to these discussions.

subject what one wishes to find although it may not have been there before. The journey through the deeper psychic layers, or according to the concept of the spheres through the peripheral psychic regions, is not however always without value. This is clear in certain dream experiences—excluding all the exaggerated alternative symbolic interpretations[2] of psychoanalysis—and in very many experiences in the psychopathology of everyday life.

If one accepts, as I do, the unconscious and the repression, one is compelled to consider the question of complexes and their development, especially of the incest complex, and furthermore must define one's position regarding the sexual development and the significance of sexuality. These are merely points with regard to which the inexorability and exclusiveness of the

[2] I.e., the conception that every dream situation signifies either the masculine or the feminine genitals, or must stand in the closest possible relationship to them. Obviously, however, there is no question of lack of foundation for sexual symbolism; unequivocal content is too frequent on the part even of those entirely without psychoanalytic prejudice. On the other hand one must admit that all phenomena may be approached, if one for any reason so desires, from any point of view—thus also from the pan-sexual or symbolic standpoint. One may well consider the question: How does the world look if I consistently derive sexual implications after having decided to find them everywhere? But from the *possibility* of such a question and of such an insinuation one may not deduce that the *answer will always be right.* Furthermore a general pan-sexualism is not made legitimate simply when it has been ascertained that many men always and others at certain times derive ubiquitous sexual implication and excitement. Such a generalization, be it said incidentally, often makes the frank impression of a compulsion and this not only in analysts but often also in the analyzed.

I would like to believe that now there has been sufficient repudiation and sufficient exaggeration in these matters and that we may be at last prepared to take up our position in the middle way.

orthodox Freudian teaching are perhaps more striking and more challenging to opposition than the points themselves. In this connection it is well to bear in mind the fact that new theories are always compelled to exaggerate, and to remember that orthodoxy and fanaticism up to a certain point appear to have a place among the qualities of the personality of the pioneer.

Today it is a matter no longer subject to controversy that sexuality in the broadest sense begins in the first years of life. Charlotte Bühler, on the basis of observations and experiences which stand completely outside of psychoanalysis, has recently developed the thesis that a maturing process corresponding to puberty on a smaller scale appears in childhood between the third and fourth years. As far as the impulsive life in general and sexual impulses in particular are concerned it occurs to no one today to doubt their fundamental significance. That which made trouble and provoked well-justified opposition was the previously mentioned symbolic interpretation with regard to that material beneath consciousness which is supposed to be always lascivious (*immer geil*—Bumke). Finally, the complexes: often enough it has been insisted that from the point of view of natural science psychic substations cannot be permanently efficient. But one might perhaps suspect that it is not so much the supposedly unscientific presentation of the nature and mode of operation of complexes, as it is their ultimate sexual content which has aroused the opposition. Taking for example the incest complex one may say that the term is not exactly a happy one; practically, however, one cannot escape the fact that every man experiences primarily a fixation on the parents or on those who from the start have taken the parents' place and that in general the father prefers the daughter, the mother the son. In

other words, that, generally speaking, the bond between parent and the child of the opposite sex is the stronger, represents a very old human experience. In the development of the personality into maturity there takes place normally a dissolution of the child-parent fixation of which the first signs attract attention often somewhat blatantly and violently in the years of indiscretion. In a group of psychopathic personalities this dissolution fails to take place or is only incompletely accomplished; the fixation then continues to operate. It is possible with many psychopaths to ascertain in detail how this happens. It is beyond question that the psychosexual development, the choice of sexual object, and the sexual activity stand in closest possible relation to this fact. The further fact is not to be overlooked, that this child-parent fixation has very often if not regularly, a sexual erotic tone, which is frequently more easily recognizable on the side of the parents even if not admitted. Sometimes it would be difficult to understand how this can be denied had it not become known—and indeed preëminently through Freud—that the depth of the "incest fear" is apparent in the very fact that it always estimates this type of situation as sinful and infamous—that is, represses it beneath the level of consciousness.

The fact that we are never able to come into complete accord with the psychoanalytic evaluation of the points discussed thus far, but on the contrary find only a portion of psychoanalytic assertions acceptable to and suitable for discussion, may be in part because many pertinent contents in the sense already indicated are obviously artificially produced by the analyst, or wrongly evaluated as to their genetic significance. Many of these contents, the existence of which it was possible to establish with certainty before the develop-

ment of either psychotherapy or the explanations of the depth psychology, are merely psychoplastic material of the "neurosis," or to use a different expression: secondary psychological substructure. That such understanding of the Freudian school has not remained entirely foreign is apparently clear in the many changes of point of view among its pupils and adepts. How a vicious circle may become established in this way will be obvious in the course of the following discussion.

In considering the significance of sexuality for the psychopathic personality one can no longer fail to realize that the psychopath is accustomed to sacrifice disproportionately more time and pains to his sexuality than is the person who is psychically well rounded. That is the psychopath cannot easily manage his sexuality without conflict. He represses the erotic and the sexual and rarely succeeds in accomplishing a union of eroticism and sexuality. He comes to suffer "temptations" not only directly but also through his fringes of consciousness and his unconscious (secondarily). How these sexual "temptations" may be transformed is not to be explained in the course of these general remarks, which have merely the importance of an introduction and should help to make clear the general standpoint from which psychopathic personalities will be considered in the following pages. That there is here a field for busy psychoanalysts may readily be understood. Many of these psychopaths are undoubtedly happy to acquire a jargon through which they are able to bring their actual and fancied experiences before an understanding soul.

The clinician has always kept in view in dealing with psychopaths the essential question, "How?" The "Why" he refers to the general sources, to the com-

mon genesis of psychopathy.[3] Details with regard to the deeper psychic sources of psychopathic behavior have long given him little concern; this is strikingly exemplified in the compulsive phenomena. It is otherwise with Freud's "depth psychology" (psychology of the unconscious)—to adopt an expression of his own. This depth psychology attempts to establish the motivation of psychopathic behavior with respect to the content of this behavior and the neurotic symptoms. It persistently asks in this connection, "Why?" Herein lies at once its significance and its limitation.

The "how" of the clinician brings to light qualities behind which often enough "neurotic motivations" are more or less concealed. The "why" of the psychoanalyst points to motivations which derive in part from the unconscious. There remains still a third question for some time current among clinicians and legitimate in the consideration of hysterical manifestations; a question which is not entirely unknown to psychoanalysts[4]—the question "For what purpose?" The purposefulness, the finality of psychopathic behavior, has become the backbone of Alfred Adler's teaching. Adler is a pupil of Freud who has been separated from his master by the "will to power," that is, the basic idea that every act of the personality is directed in a purposeful way toward the satisfaction of its striving for prestige and toward the accomplishment of its life ambition (*Leitlinie*). Adler's so-called individual psychology is completely dominated by the idea of finality

[3] The terms "psychopathic" and "psychopathy" are used to designate a large group of characteristics or conditions which lie in the broad zone between mental health and mental illness (psychosis). Cf. chap. iv.

[4] That psychoanalysis is not entirely foreign to this point of view follows from its evaluation of the advantage from the disease.

(purposefulness). In the physical there exists for him causality, in the psychic realm finality only. Every individual sets out persistently to assert himself, to increase his power. This self-assertion is hindered by feelings of inferiority in which frequently an organ inferiority is involved. The conflict between the will to power and the feeling of inferiority leads the way to psychopathic manifestation, to "neurotic" attitudes. These appear to the psychopath as power substitutes, purposeful in so far as they compel a personality or a group of personalities (exactly those personalities against whom his desire to power is directed) to concern themselves about him, to allow him to function as a person of importance. One could say that psychopathic behavior is misconceived purposiveness.

The Adlerian School has come to the point of ascribing to the environment the whole burden of bringing about the appearance of psychopathic behavior and the psychopathic behavior itself. It is maintained in general that there is no such thing as psychopathic *Anlagen*[5] but rather that in spite of the originally equal endowment of all individuals many persons become "neurotic" under the influence of a pernicious *milieu;* that the resultant neurotic symptoms, the psychopathic manifestations, are merely normal reactions to the pernicious *milieu.* Psychopathy thus becomes for the Adlerian individual psychologist, a conception which owes its feeble and unjustified continuance only to the mental indolence and superficiality of the clinician. The fruitful, but certainly not deeply grounded, Adlerian concept of organ inferiority, which is indeed related closely to biology, has played—judging from the majority of individual psychologists—only a compara-

[5] Genetic predispositions.

tively subordinate rôle.[6] One cannot but gain the impression that the school of individual psychology has come to a purely psychological attitude to which it is certainly entitled—an attitude however which is undoubtedly too one-sided to master the problem in hand and to suffice for the high aspirations of the school. It should be especially noted that Wexberg among others[7] attempts to escape this one-sidedness. But it must be said also that the guiding teleological principle of Adlerian teaching remains too much on the surface. He who says "A" must also say "B." This Adler himself has done only in so far as he has extended the application of his idea of finality from nervous men to all men. This is comprehensible and remains under certain circumstances entirely logical. But Adler did not say "B," because he saw human finality as too much of a straight line; in other words he made it too simple. In contrast the comprehensive work of William Stern should be recalled. Here there is shown the way in which purposefulness (autotely) is built up in the individual, and the manner in which the individual with his autotelic system—that is, with the system of his own purposes (ego-purposes)—appropriates other purposeful systems (heterotelies).

Adler's individual psychology has expanded beyond its capacity from a psychopathological point of view into a philosophy of life—beyond its capacity since its foundations suffice neither for the construction nor for the support of a real *Weltanschauung*. Now from out of the Adlerian psychology there has developed a sort

[6] It seems occasionally that the ubiquity of organ inferiority will be eventually taken for granted without any particular emphasis being laid upon it.

[7] As is clear particularly from a study concerning anxiety as the central problem in neurosis.

of rationalistic Christianity; but while Christianity contains social thinking in one of its noblest forms, individual psychology postulates equal rights for all on the basis of the fiction of equal endowment.[8] This is unfortunate because certain of the ideas pertaining to individual psychology are undoubtedly useful and capable of development and the general application of a teleological point of view with regard to the total psychopathic personality such as has been brought about through Adler marks a real advance.

The Freudian teaching like the Adlerian has remained actually in the realm of the psychological although its attitude toward the psychology of impulse doubtless tends in a biological direction, and although its founder has occasionally made concessions in the matter of etiological significance of constitution and predisposition. Apart from Schilder's energetic efforts and those of a few followers, it would appear that thus far the biological aspect has been little valued in psychoanalysis or by psychoanalysts.

On the other hand we are not unaware that the etiological and descriptive set of the clinician in the field of psychopathy has long enough handled the psychological in a very stepmotherly fashion, and has at least frequently set too high a value on facts pertaining to that which is genetically determined. In spite of all this the clinic has remained central in the investigation of psychopaths. This is due not to tradition but to the clinic's broad empirical foundation and its possibilities for development. This capacity for development has permitted the clinic to assimilate the "depth psy-

[8] In this connection it is particularly pernicious that individual psychology in many of its contentions gladly takes refuge in returning to the "fiction." One may readily claim whatever one likes to claim if one explains afterward that it was a fiction.

chology'' in so far as critical understanding permits. But more than this, the new psychobiological trend (Kretschmer, Ewald, Storch, H. Hoffmann, etc.) could take its departure only from the progressive clinic in the form of further development and advance in the clinic's own method of work, supported by the general medical investigation of constitution—not least by the teachings of F. Kraus. The psychobiological trend aims at a comprehension of the totality of the personality, and so is somewhat in opposition to the previous trend. However, it represents also a development and correlation of previous tendencies, in which the personality has been considered from one or another aspect only. It is the nature of the psychobiological approach to recognize connections between body and psychic functions, as well as the reaction of the psychical on physical factors and changes. It traces the development of such reactions in the frame of definite psychical and physical organizations; here would belong Adler's conception of organ inferiority. On the other hand the question is asked as to how far the physical condition may be influenced by psychical functioning, how far physical processes by psychic processes, how far the corporeality and the physical development by psychic processes and development. In all this the varied interaction of constitution and environment must be borne in mind. All in all the question has to deal with the attitude assumed toward the body-mind, the stato-dynamic conception of personality. Karl Birnbaum has indicated in various important papers the fundamentals of the problem, together with many details of importance for psychiatry. It is highly interesting to observe how very fruitful Birnbaum's influence has been. Nevertheless some of those investigators, who without doubt are most earnestly in favor of the consideration of the

whole, threaten to slip away from the more comprehensive psychobiological point of view in order to further some favorite ideas of their own.

That this psychobiological trend is important for the study of psychopathic conditions is evident. One may say that it is just these psychopathic personalities who are in greatest need of a study from the standpoint of the whole, because with them the concern is particularly the total personality. The goal of a "modern" approach to psychopathy, therefore, might be clearly and succinctly formulated as follows: The physico-psychic, stato-dynamic, conception of the psychopathic personality as a whole. But here I am blocked! If the medical grasp of the total personality were only further developed and if a psychological scheme of the personality could be simply taken over, even then the attainment of this goal would not be exactly easy, but as things are these two presuppositions are not granted. There are numerous detailed biological data at hand from among which the suitable may be used. There are various personality schemata significant *per se;* but they are all constructed according to their own presuppositions and can be taken over only piecemeal in partially modified fragments. All in all the standpoint of the whole, even in our sphere, is a working hypothesis: the accomplished and the attainable will in no sense counterbalance each other.

It would certainly be a wrong procedure to begin a consideration of psychopathic personality working forward from ions or other biological fundamentals; the more so in that ultimately, considering our pretentious goal, it will be possible to attain only a few clues and suggestions but in no wise a psychobiological system of psychopathies. From the point of view of teaching, understanding, and further work, that is for purely

practical reasons, it is evident, however, that without a systematic point of departure further progress is impossible. Thus a clinical summary of the psychopathies may be set forth in all modesty. On this basis, which at all events is the historical one, it is possible to proceed profitably.

CHAPTER II

HEURISTIC SYSTEM OF PSYCHOPATHIES ACCORDING TO THE CLINICO-DESCRIPTIVE METHOD

THE same result may be attained in two ways. It is possible, for example, to bring together a great mass of psychopathic material, and then to group it according to outstanding psychical characteristics. That was the method of Kraepelin and of all those who followed him in the clinical elaboration of the psychopathies. It is possible on the other hand to collect the results of these clinical studies in psychopathies, bringing together the corresponding clinical labels, and then from each of the resulting groupings to choose the name which is most frequently used or seems to be the most convenient.

Even though Kurt Schneider called his grouping of psychopathies "pictures of psychopathic personalities," it is nevertheless fundamentally clinical.[1] It is to a certain extent only a condensation of previous clinical groupings. If we proceed according to the two methods just indicated it will not be surprising that our clinical classification of the psychopathies corresponds closely with that of Kurt Schneider. In any individual case it is entirely a matter of choice which of the possible names is chosen. In the matter of two available and essentially equivalent names it is rather a question of taste to decide in favor of that one which allows a certain latitude. We do not want to become involved in the descriptive summary of psychopathic

[1] That Schneider nevertheless strove successfully, step by step, for increased psychological insight goes without saying.

types in the approach to clinical definition in the strict sense, even from the point of view of pure nomenclature. We have chosen therefore in preference to the terms, without affect (*gemütlos*) and without will (*willenlos*), the slightly broader terms, affectively cold (*gemütskalt*) and weak-willed (*willensschwach*). In so doing we have no other types in mind than those of Schneider. Like Schneider we avoid here the terms which have social, and thus a moral significance.

The clinico-descriptive classification which will serve for us as a starting point is as follows:

1. The nervous
2. The anxious
3. The sensitive
4. The compulsive
5. The excitable
6. The hyperthymic
7. The depressive
8. The moody
9. The affectively cold
10. The weak-willed
11. The impulsive
12. The sexually perverse
13. The hysterical
14. The fantastic
15. The cranks
16. The eccentric

We have six groups more than Kurt Schneider because we have introduced as separate groups, the anxious, the impulsive, and the fantastic; because we have included the sexually perverse; because we have made independent the two subdivisions of the group Schneider described as unsure of themselves; and because we

have also divided Schneider's fanatics into the cranks and eccentrics.[2]

Only a very brief characterization of the individual groups is in order here.

1. *The nervous.* A detailed consideration of the nervous does not fall within the scope of the present work. Essentially the same personalities are to be considered on the one hand as constitutionally nervous, and on the other as psychopathic. It is merely that in the first instance the "organically nervous," the "neuropathic" symptoms are more stressed, and in the second the psychopathic characteristics. Many of the nervous have psychopathic characteristics or peculiarities. The reverse is equally true: many psychopathic personalities are nervous; that is, they have nervous or neuropathic symptoms.

Kurt Schneider included the nervous for the most part in the group of the asthenic psychopaths. It will be necessary to return to this point in the appropriate place. Similarly, it will be necessary to return to particulars with regard to the conception of the neuroses which must come up with the first mention of the nervous.

It is with special intent that the discussion of the anxious, the sensitive, and the compulsive, follows that of the nervous. They are frequently characterized by marked nervous stigmata and very often appear—not merely in the practice of the internists—under the label "nervous."

2. *The anxious.* The anxious[3] psychopaths are characterized by anxiety, or more exactly: by an increased susceptibility to anxiety. Many are continually busied,

[2] I stress the fact that the concern is here solely a clinico-descriptive classification.

[3] Cf. chap. vi, pp. 200–210.

as it were, with the attempt to realize their anxiety set and to give content to their anxiety. They display both an anxiety which is practically always present varying only in intensity, and anxiety which appears periodically and then recedes. An especial rôle is played by anxiety attacks which vary in length and in psychological content ("anxiety neurosis"). These attacks can be combined with the before-mentioned types of anxiety.

3. *The sensitive.* The sensitive[4] are a group of psychopathic personalities easily distinguishable by an obviously exaggerated sensitivity, suggesting the sensitive plant. This sensitivity has in a sense a reverse side: it is, as Kretschmer has shown, associated with marked impressionability and a blocking of the channels of discharge.

4. *The compulsive.* Schneider's combining of the sensitive and the anancastic[5] under the category of self-insecurity is certainly justified. The clinical attitude assumed in the course of this discussion, however, makes it impossible to bring the two groups together. From the descriptive standpoint, because of their mode of expression the compulsives are not difficult to recognize. Their relation to the sensitive is obvious in part even outwardly, but it is unnecessary to say that neither are all anancastics sensitive, nor do all the sensitive have compulsive manifestations. Experience has shown such manifestations to be very plentiful and frequently discernible—at least in implication—even in the range of health (slight counting compulsion, etc.).

[4] K. Schneider called them the *sensitive Selbstunsichere,* they are the *Sensitiven* of Kretschmer, Homburger, and others. Bumke's *Gemütsweiche* belong here as well as at least certain of those psychopaths designated as "psychasthenic" in accord with the precedent of Janet.

[5] Cf. chap. ix, pp. 360–379.

5. *The excitable.* The excitable cannot be omitted from any clinical classification, although Kurt Schneider says rightly of his "explosives" (identical with the "excitable" of most authors):[6] "The relationships to other psychopaths are so numerous that one may well doubt whether the explosible may not be included in them as epiphenomena." In any case there are psychopathic personalities enough in whom the increased affective excitability, accompanied by an increased explosiveness, is the striking feature. Many of the irritable are classified here clinically, who must be discussed later from the point of view of exact differentiation. The excitable respond directly to external stimuli which are in themselves insignificant or of slight significance; that happens in them rather frequently in obvious relation to that which represents for the time being their total condition (alcohol, fatigue, etc.). They respond with an exaggerated and usually quickly fading excitement ("short circuits," "primitive reactions"—Kretschmer). As with the child their affective reaction occurs directly and without control. This analogy to which Kraepelin especially has called attention will be frequently encountered. Certain of the quarrelsome also, from the clinical standpoint, may well belong here.

6. *The hyperthymic.* The hyperthymic[7] are the psychopathic representatives or examples of the tempera-

[6] Kraepelin's *Erregbare* have been taken over by most authors. Gruhle's *Erethiker* correspond to them.

[7] Schneider calls them *Hyperthyme;* we shall employ the word later in a broader sense. Kraepelin speaks of "constitutional excitement" (*konstitutionelle Erregung*), Bumke of the "hypomanic constitution" (*hypomanische Konstitution*), van Deventer used the expression "sanguine inferiority" (*sanguinische Minderwertigkeit*), which fortunately has found no acceptance.

ment which Bumke terms "euphoric personality" and regards as "the pleasantest and the most enviable of all." They are the eternally gay and busy who attract attention because of their cheerful activity.

7. *The depressive.* The opposite of the hyperthymic is found in the depressive,[8] those constantly sad and serious natures whose outward appearance is that of earnestness and a—frequently critical—circumspection.

8. *The moody.* In the moody[9] there is an alternating gaiety and seriousness. The autochthonous (spontaneous) or reactive appearance of the two opposed moods will be discussed in another connection. The fact of moodiness is certainly so easily comprehensible descriptively that the construction of this clinical grouping is justified.

9. *The affectively cold.* The affectively cold[10] are in the main personalities characterized by a coldly hostile bearing toward their fellow men and toward society —"enemies of society" (Kraepelin's *Gesellschaftsfeinde*). These persons are ruthless and pitiless in the

[8] Similarly with Kurt Schneider. Kraepelin said *depressive Veranlagung;* earlier, *Konstitutionelle Verstimmung.* Bumke prefers the designation *depressives Temperament.* Some of the so-called *Erregbare*—Kraepelin's *reizbare Veranlagung,* Bleuler's *reizbare Verstimmung*—are related to this group, a point which will be taken up in another connection.

[9] Schneider and Homburger also designate the group as *Stimmungslabile.* Here belong Kleist's *autochthon und reactiv Affektlabile,* the "periodic" (F. Scholz), called by Kretschmer "cyclothymic," and a portion of those called by this author "cycloid" types.

[10] Schneider's *Gemütlose.* F. Scholz employed the expression "morally anaesthetic." Meggendorfer called a corresponding group "parathymic." Gruhle's "torpid and indolent" are related to these affectively cold, which have since received particular significance through the works of Kretschmer and Hoffmann on "schizoids."

carrying out of their schemes. Quantitative differences make possible the distinction between poverty of affect and lack of affect. Moral insanity[11] belongs here.

10. *The weak-willed.* Of the weak-willed,[12] which he calls *Willenlose,* Kurt Schneider says "in only a very few cases is it justifiable to make this lack of will the chief mark of the personality." With reference to their life course or with reference to certain specific experiences (changes of occupation, criminality, neglectedness) most of those who belong here are termed unstable (Kraepelin's *Haltlose*), and hence also weak-willed. Closer consideration often enough makes it possible to analyze the unstable or weak-willed behavior.

11. *The impulsive.* The impulsive[13] are characterized by the fact that they yield with little or no resistance to impulses which although they arise in every man are in general prevented or at least rendered harmless in their expression—that is, directed into an appropriate channel—through the action of the will or intelligence. In such cases, as will be explained later, the absolute strength of the impulse may not usually be the decisive factor.

12. *The sexually perverse.* The sexually perverse as representatives of a deviating impulse life might follow the impulsive. The clinical criterion of sexual perversion is of course entirely superficial and very inclusive. Those who deviate sexually exemplify with

[11] The very prevalent expression "moral insanity," set up by Prichard as an opposite to "intellectual insanity," has been apparently misunderstood and wrongly used.

[12] Koch called these psychopathies *Unruhige.* The denomination *Unstete* is also current. Birnbaum likes to use "instable."

[13] Kraepelin distinguishes between "impulsive personalities" (*Triebmenschen*) and "impulsive insanity" (*impulsives Irresein*). Frequently the term "epileptoid" is brought in, which will be discussed in another connection.

especial clarity the impossibility of dealing with the psychopathic personality by a purely clinico-descriptive method.

13. *The hysterical.* As hysterical personalities[14] are to be understood those who can be described as insincere and untruthful, their behavior being determined by the outward appearance and by passion to prevail. Bumke says of them, "Their natural bearing is pose." Hysterical motor mechanisms and "exceptional conditions" are very frequent in these types, but do not belong strictly under the conception of the hysterical personality.

14. *The fantastic.* While we have no hesitation about leaving the falsifiers[15] (pseudologists) in the class of hysterical personalities, it has seemed worth while to make the dreaming fantastics an independent group. The fantastic is distinguished from the hysterical falsifier and boaster by lack of activity (Gruhle) and of passion to prevail (Kurt Schneider). Kronfeld says cogently, "The fantastic deceives himself, the falsifier deceives others."

15. *The cranks.* Those personalities are designated as cranks[16] which get themselves into ruts of thinking. Unable to free themselves from an idea once conceived, they find the meaning of their lives in fighting and suffering for it fanatically. Some paranoid and querulous personalities are clinically related to these cranks.

[14] Kurt Schneider introduced and used formerly the expression *Geltungsbedürftige* (verbally, "needing recognition") to which he now prefers, acceding to Aschaffenburg (1928), the term *Geltungssüchtige* (verbally, "greedy of recognition"; instead of greed of recognition we may say the passion to prevail or desire to prevail).

[15] Delbrück's *Pseudologia phantastica,* Kraepelin's *Lügner und Schwindler,* Birnbaum's *Degenerative Phantasten.*

[16] Kraepelin's *Schwärmer und Verbohrte,* Kurt Schneider's *Fanatiker,* Kahn's *fanatische Psychopathen.*

16. *The eccentric.* Under the heading eccentric[17] may be grouped clinically personalities which make themselves conspicuous by their way of speaking, their bearing and gestures; by their psychical make-up (thinking, feeling, striving); by their outward appearance; and as regards their social attitude, by their peculiarity and perversity. We do not consider here *how* the specified peculiarities of behavior become established.

What has been accomplished by this clinical enumeration and hasty characterization? On the one hand a point of departure has been achieved as was indicated at the outset. But on the other hand much polemic has been escaped. We are not defending polemically clinico-descriptive groupings of psychopathies. But we recognize as fundamental the possibility of classifying psychically abnormal personalities according to especially striking psychical characteristics. Further exposition in this direction, whether and in how far a classification may be valuable, seems of the nature of much ado about nothing. It may be to one's liking to evolve such a classification out of a greater or lesser number of groups. Unquestionably it is of practical value, it may be repeated, to be able to make certain distinctions on the basis of a brief manageable characterization according to an outwardly striking and easily described characteristic, even though such distinctions are merely preliminary and superficial. This increases certain possibilities of understanding and has a forensic value.

The grouping is to set forth only the *typical;* it is to be applicable and can be applicable only to psycho-

[17] Kraepelin's *Verschrobene,* Stertz's *verschrobene Fanatiker,* some of which belong rather to the group of cranks, Gruhle's *paranoide Persönlichkeiten.*

pathic *types*. For this reason the description of the individual groups has been kept intentionally brief. When a broader and more thoroughgoing presentation is attempted the clinical types in the strict sense fade away. One achieves instead "pictures of psychopathic personalities" (Gruhle), in regard to which Kurt Schneider rightly says "life-like depiction gives portraits and no longer types." If one sets out, however, to depict personalities, one must renounce from the first any purely clinico-descriptive framework, for otherwise all description in psychiatry would be clinical. It is interesting that even in the most earnest endeavor to accomplish a purely clinical description such as has been attempted thus far in our brief characterizations, so difficult and complicated is the nature of the affair and in particular of the human personality, that it is absolutely impossible to remain exclusively in the realm of "outer characteristics."

It cannot but be agreed that here there is something wrong in the presentation of the question. The psychopathic types are, as it were, incorporated by the clinician in the psychiatric nosological system. They have been placed on equal terms side by side with general paresis and dementia praecox, symptomatic psychoses and manic depressive insanity. That is, we have regarded a number of variations of the human personality clinico-psychiatrically as more or less "disease entities." The human personality, however it may deviate from the average, will not be forced into the clinician's Procrustean bed. At all events in the case of psychopathic personalities it must be conceded that a clinical grouping cannot do justice to the situation and to the problems which are involved. On the other hand it must be admitted—quite apart from doctrine and prejudice —that a classification according to outer characteris-

tics is not without advantage for practical purposes, and in any case cannot be abandoned until a more useful substitute has been found.

In his monograph, Kurt Schneider has pointed out with great force and clarity from group to group, that there is scarcely such a thing as clear pictures or clear types, but that instead in the description of concrete psychopathic types it is necessary either to use the various subdivisions of the type, or to combine the individual types, or else to express the label in a sentence. As far as the question of characterization is concerned Schneider is certainly to be supported. Nevertheless, although or perhaps because, Schneider himself throughout all his clinical descriptions has used psychological insight in regard to his psychopathic personalities, his total solution is still not satisfying. His grouping came about like every grouping fundamentally rooted in the clinical approach, according to the more or less outer characteristic, of which already frequent mention has been made. These characteristics which exist side by side, or more accurately speaking have been placed side by side, certainly permit the construction of plastic pictures of personality, but nevertheless are without a more rigorous ordering because a more general point of view is lacking. It must be remembered that the criteria which are to be considered typical and according to which psychopathic types are clinically to be arranged, do not always signify the same thing, however much they may resemble each other outwardly. For example, excitability can make its appearance in different forms, so that with the statement of the factor of excitability absolutely nothing is said as to what rôle it plays in the total psychic structure of the personality concerned. William Stern in his *Differential Psychology* has expressed this fact

in the following words: "On the basis of some demonstrable abnormality in this or that particular characteristic,[18] we have no right to draw forthwith a conclusion as to the abnormality of the person concerned, as an individual. On the other hand it is impossible to trace the demonstrable abnormality of a personality to a particular characteristic as the single source." This matter will not be considered in greater detail. The fact should be stressed that in Schneider's pertinent discussion, and in the practice prevalent in many clinics, of characterizing psychopathic types by the enumeration of several of the more striking of the characteristics, lies not only the confession of the impossibility of making a "unidimensional" clinical diagnosis, but also the recognition of the necessity of arriving at a multidimensional structurally analytic approach to the psychopathic personality.

Granted the impossibility of including every individual personality in a systematization of the human personality and particularly of its psychopathic varieties no matter how carefully worked out, it may yet be possible to establish or suggest types, or to find a system of approach such that every concrete personality according to its real structure can be placed in relation to the types and considered under a certain systematic classification.

The clinico-systematic endeavor with respect to psychopathic types is removed from the typical in so far as an outward characteristic (for example, instability) is set up as the distinguishing mark—frequently not without a certain violence. Experience shows every day

[18] A statement of Kraepelin stands in apparent contradiction: "Each individual psychic insufficiency occasionally may appear in the foreground of the clinical picture." Kraepelin has only the clinical picture in mind, whereas in Stern's case the personality is meant.

how little typical are the examples of clinical "instability." It must be admitted that the sorting out on the basis of external criteria must be, on the one hand, superficial, on the other, adequate to the personality only in a cross section, giving its static aspect from one angle or another, so that neither the complexity of the normal, much less of the psychopathic personality, nor its living flexibility can be grasped. If the attempt be made to compensate for the one-sidedness of the approach by combining the single types (cf. above), one comes, to be sure, to plastic "types," fundamentally, however qualities have been merely placed side by side with little ordering, which under varying circumstances come from different levels and generally have in common only that which pertains to the cross section, to the static.[19] A child would say of a house: It is square and high. That is a characterization of about the same depth as "excitable, unstable psychopath." These objections certainly do not do away with the observation that there are types of excitable psychopaths, and a typical psychopathic excitability.[20] On this account a descriptive classification of psychopaths may remain as a makeshift.

It is neither possible nor permissible to take recourse

[19] The fact is not to be overlooked that excitability in itself is not a purely "static" affair. It is rather of the nature of the descriptive approach to regard qualities—as "faculties"—so to speak as if they were static cross-sectional data. Comparison may be made with the method of hereditary biology, which though working theoretically with anlagen that develop, has to deal practically with quasi-static characteristics.

[20] The question: What is an excitable psychopath? is just as well justified as the question: What is psychopathic excitability? We are working however in the direction pointed by the first question because the second belongs fundamentally to general psychopathology while it is our task to describe psychopathic personalities.

to the opposite extreme, repudiating every consideration of psychopathic personality according to types, and relying on the monographic pictures of personalities. A way must be found which permits the establishment of clear and, under certain circumstances, complex types, at the same time offering the possibility of doing justice to the individual personality with which we must always deal. It is the individual personality which constitutes the basis of all our experience.

Kretschmer's teaching will be treated in another section. However, it is in order to call attention here to the following fact: Kretschmer's schizoids and cycloids represent, indeed, "types"; they have been achieved through the intuitive observation of individual personalities. This is entirely clear in Kretschmer's presentation. That which makes it impossible here to take Kretschmer's types as a point of departure is their derivation from two disease types through which we feel (in spite of all the accuracy of Kretschmer's conception of the typical in many single personalities) they have become too heavily burdened with prejudice. This has been shown recently in a very interesting way in the attempts of the Kretschmer School to develop the concept of epileptoids. In the light of experience we feel it more correct and more effective, generally speaking, to consider the clinical groupings from the point of view of the personalities, than to consider the personalities from the point of view of the psychoses. Direct comparison of the psychopathic personality types with the psychotic disease types must remain in many ways an important special device, but it will not suffice for the foundation of a system of psychopathies.

By this time the present objective should be clear. We search for the building stones for a constructive consideration of psychopathic personalities. We at-

tempt from the very beginning to arrive at a definite ordering and to stick to the categories achieved. That it is impossible to remain content with a static cross-sectional consideration is perhaps already clear from the foregoing discussion; a dynamic longitudinal consideration is demanded also. The human personality is not only a totality of static qualities, but is also a living, active, growing, dynamic whole with the peculiarity that all static and dynamic factors, in so far as they can be distinguished at all, are in some way related to each other. That this is characteristically true may presumably constitute a fundamental element in the definition of the peculiarity of the individual personality—of the essence of personality itself.

CHAPTER III

CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PERSONALITY

ONE may review clinical classifications of psychopathies to one's heart's desire and one will find but two ubiquitous groups which can be brought into a sort of opposition to each other. On the one side stand the excitable, the anxious, the moody, the hyperthymic, the depressive, the affectively cold (to illustrate with the presented classification); these are united by a peculiarity in the realm of affect. On the other side united (to use a negative expression) by a lack or a minus in the realm of affect remain the sensitive, the compulsive, the weak-willed, the impulsive, the sexually perverse, the hysterical, the fantastic, the cranks, and the eccentric. The same opposition becomes apparent if one sets over against each other Kretschmer's cycloid and schizoid, or in the realm of health his cyclothymic and schizothymic—Bleuler's syntonic and Bostroem's dystonic. This is the opposition which Ewald employed in his criticism of schizoid and furthermore in the development of his biologically founded discussion of temperament and character. In other words, behind both these ranks lies the problem of temperament and character. We assert at the outset that temperament and character however they may be defined are actually in no sense opposites; therefore it is impossible to regard them as opposites in a consideration of psychopathies; furthermore as Ewald stressed with particular emphasis no man possesses only temperament or only character but every man possesses both temperament

and character. The following remarks aim to make it clear that on the basis of our present knowledge these two concepts can no longer be avoided in the consideration and classification of psychopathies.

Psychologically the personality may be considered in three aspects: from the point of view of intelligence, temperament, and character. Like Utitz we do not regard the personality as divided into realms or provinces, but instead are convinced that the divisions are a matter of point of view. Into each of its experiences the personality enters as a whole—in the words of William Stern "as a psycho-physically neutral whole" —even though psychically, speaking entirely apart from intellect, at one time that which pertains to character, at another that which pertains to temperament, may predominate. The fault lies not in the person observed, if this fact is not clear at each instant, but rather in the observer who is unable to reëxperience with the same speed and certainty what took place in the object as an original experience.

In this connection it may be well to indicate briefly our position with regard to several existing systems of character study which are of especial significance to psychiatry. This is the more important in that we owe to them[1] not only a stimulus but especially the building stones for the present presentation.

Klages, whose character outline Kehrer[2] attempted to make practicable for psychiatry, distinguishes in the

[1] Among them the works of Birnbaum, Kretschmer, H. Hoffmann, Kronfeld.

[2] Kehrer assumes that structure is equivalent to temperament, and observes as an expression thereof: directed inwardly—affect and life mood, directed outwardly—nature (Psychomotility). Klages' "kind," or totality of the motivations (*Triebfedern*), Kehrer identifies with the totality of the impulses, strivings, and directions of will.

construction of personality:[3] raw material, structure, and kind. He sees the same total personality throughout, under the three varying aspects of its psychic characteristics of quantity, relation, and direction. In Klages' sense it would be possible to make some such statement as the following: Each personality contains a little of everything although in differing degrees (material—*Stoff*[4]); this arranges itself in the personality in very different ways (structure—*Gefüge*[5]); and this each personality is able to use only after its own fashion, that is, in the direction corresponding to its kind (*Artung*—quality,[6] character in its true sense). In Klages' system, however, appear still other structural components which need not be mentioned here. The outline is intensely suggestive and contains brilliant formulations; but on the whole it is too complicated and, furthermore, from the psychiatric standpoint somewhat divorced from everyday life. Nevertheless, the psychiatrist may well appropriate many single features. Klages' *Gefüge* ("structure") corresponds closely to that which other writers mean by temperament; his *Artung* ("quality") parallels the character concepts of other authors.

Utitz finds in temperament "that which pertains to affect and mood in its meaning and significance for personality"; for him character is "the personality under the aspect of its striving." Thus, with all clarity

[3] Klages and many others frequently use the expression "character" even when they really mean the total personality. In the interest of clarity it would be better were this avoided.

[4] The totality of personal gifts pertaining to understanding, feeling, and will.

[5] *Gefühlserregbarkeit* (affectivity), *Willenserregbarkeit* (temperament), and *Äusserungsvermögen* (nature—*Naturell*).

[6] The totality of the motivations (*Triebfedern*) or primordial feeling.

and care of formulation and with particular cogency, he avoids a division of the personality into various provinces.

Ewald attempted to give to the concepts "temperament" and "character" a biological foundation. He finds temperament in which he sees the expression of bio-tonus, to consist of: intensity, psychic tempo, and vital feelings. Temperament is for him a constant of the personality, in opposition to character which is changeable and modifiable, deriving from the construction of the individual. To character belong the directed drives and psychical reactions, the impressionability and the capacity for retention, in Kretschmer's sense the intrapsychic assimilation and the capacity for outlet. Utitz' reproach that Ewald lacked the courage for pure psychology, is not in my opinion entirely justified. Ewald had the far greater courage to attempt to throw across this most difficult of all fields a biopsychological bridge; this remains his service even though further development should not follow exactly in the direction in which he pointed. Ewald explained that that which is now considered constant in the personality stands in closer relationship to that which the majority of authors understand by temperament, and *vice versa,* that to character is to be ascribed a considerable inconstancy or changeableness. One cannot escape the impression, however, that for Ewald the point of view of inconstancy or constancy has become determinative in the coördination of that which pertains to character or that which pertains to temperament. Perhaps on this account, for example, the whole reactive affectivity has been granted a place in character, although it is attached to temperament. Ewald distinguishes, according to the basis in bio-tonus, three temperaments only: the calm (*besonnen*) or average in which bio-tonus is in

equilibrium, the sanguine or hypomanic, and the melancholic to which he ascribes plus or minus variations of the bio-tonus respectively. We do not believe that the matter of temperaments is thus exhausted; they are in nowise described, as practically speaking is the case here, by means of only or practically only the predominating mood. The fundamental mood seems to us to be rather but one side of temperament, although we certainly will not dispute the fact that it is essentially conditioned by bio-tonic foundation. It would be a complete misunderstanding of Ewald to assert that he sets character and temperament against each other as independent spheres; as to the mutual interpenetration of these two sides of personality he is always clear. What separated us from him—and still separates us—is his different grasp of the concepts "temperament" and "character" and his strict causal scientific stand for a "biological characterology" on the basis of which he repudiates every teleological question in this field. We fear that in his effort to secure a sound biological foundation he runs into the danger of ascribing too much to character, and of not doing entire justice to its significance in the fundamental matter of the personality.

Ewald tried to demonstrate that Kretschmer's cycloid and cyclothymic personalities represent the balanced characters, and the schizoid and schizothymic personalities, the abnormal characters. There is certainly some truth in this contention, but it does not quite hit the mark. The truth with regard to Kretschmer's types is rather that the cycloids and the cyclothymics are generally observed and considered from the point of view of temperament and the schizoids and the schizothymics, more from the point of view of character. The reason for this is easy to find. Cycloid per-

sonalities are those in whom that element of the total personality which pertains to temperament comes especially to the fore, while on the other hand in the majority of Kretschmer's schizoids it is rather that which pertains to character. It goes without saying that in addition the one has character-qualities, the other temperament-qualities, but for the particular form (perhaps again only the manifestation of the form) of the personality concerned it is obvious that these facts are not of equally fundamental importance.

As Kretschmer gave his book the name *Körperbau und Charakter* ("Physique and Character"), the expression "character" acquired in the way already demonstrated the sense of personality; as a matter of fact Kretschmer was actually concerned with the conception of personality in the construction of his vividly portrayed types. It is possible to say with Ewald that frequently Kretschmer used the concepts "temperament" and "character" almost as if they were synonymous, although he attempted to find in character rather the totality of the psychic reactions, in temperament rather a psychobiological intermediate range.

William Stern, in his writings concerning character and temperament, rests on his psychophysically neutral conception of the person as a system of purposes. "The character is the unity of the directional dispositions[7] of an individual." This definition reminds one of the handling of these conceptions by Utitz (striving) and Klages (directional qualities). To use Stern's

[7] Stern calls the physical, psychic, and psychophysically neutral endowment and qualities of the person dispositions or chronic potentialities and tendencies. There are directional dispositions (*Richtungsdispositionen*): i.e., set-goals, tendencies, and preparatory dispositions: i.e., capacities and potentialities. The preparatory dispositions (*Ruestungsdispositionen*)—physical strength, efficiency of single

words again one can see in character the "system of the set-goals" (*Zielsetzungen*); this "creates and forms then the system of the means." The set-goals contained in the autotely—the system of the individual's own purposes (ego-purposes)—make for self-preservation and self-development. Temperament also, according to Stern, is a disposition and at that a psychophysically unified preparatory disposition.[8] To it "belongs a certain dynamic not only of the affective phenomena but also of the bodily movements."[9]

Enough for other points of view. To summarize in brief, it appears that the philosophical scientists Utitz and Klages remain here in the realm of pure psychology, while the psychiatrists Ewald and Kretschmer attempt to give personality a biological foundation. What is a matter of course for philosophical scientists and what is rejected by psychiatrists, especially by Ewald, is the teleological consideration. With this consideration William Stern, on the basis of his psychophysically neutral conception of the individual, builds up a great system of purposes into which he places the individual.

Here we are at the crossroads. Is Ewald to be followed and the causal scientific standpoint to be taken exclusively into psychiatric personality research? Or is it better—not surreptitiously, but in all openness—to take over from the philosophical scientists also the

organs, psychical capacity and fitness—represent the total psychophysical condition with respect to health. The directional dispositions are central in importance because they "aim directly toward the goal" while the preparatory dispositions are "related to the means for the accomplishment of the goal."

[8] Cf. p. 36, n. 7.

[9] Correspondingly, "to character belongs not only the existence of certain strivings, but also the manner of their realization in actions" (William Stern).

teleological point of view? The answer is not difficult. Psychiatry as Ewald expressed it "stands by its very nature between natural and philosophical sciences"; on this account, however strongly[10] it may feel itself a natural science because of medical discipline, it will be unable to escape in psychological matters contact with philosophical science and so ultimately with the teleological point of view. One has to realize the fact that philosophical science has long made use of important data of natural science. It is interesting that in no modern philosophical book does there exist, so far as I know, an anxiety to escape the biological that would be a counterpart to the psychiatrist's fear of the philosophical science. Perhaps it is this point which gives a certain justification to Utitz' before-mentioned reproach, but certainly not with sole reference to Ewald. The example of Adlerian individual psychology, which to be sure shoots beyond the mark as has been explained, shows more clearly than all theoretical explanation that it is possible to use the method of teleological or final consideration. Apart from this, however, was it only with respect to the hysterical with his "evil aims" that the earlier psychiatric attitude was somewhat teleological? In reality had not several other bits of the teleological standpoint made their way more or less surreptitiously into the psychiatric clinic? And ultimately has not the teleological point of view already found substantiation in the most recent psychiatric investigations, which at all events have involved the data of the depth psychology, especially in the form of

[10] I am frequently unable to escape the impression that just in those quarters where the exclusive allegiance of psychiatry to natural science has been urged with especial violence, the insistence is not always with an entirely clear conscience.

attempts at structural analysis? May not the acknowledgment that the teleological standpoint is inevitable in psychiatric investigation of personality mean nothing else than entering through a door long open?

F. Kraus and his pupils for their investigations have employed William Stern's concept of the psychophysical neutrality of the person. In psychiatry we have good reason to do the same, and to realize clearly that every manifestation of personality has its psychical and its physical sides and that in this respect it is not a matter of two irreconcilable opposites in conflict, but rather, as it were, two keyboards of the same instrument.

Now after these detailed elaborations (which perhaps only to the conscience of the author seem not to be superfluous) the attempt will at last be made to sketch the construction of the personality in order that this may be used as an introduction to the presentation of the psychopathies. This is oriented not only with reference to the presentations of the investigators already mentioned, but also with reference to Birnbaum's exposition which we regard as fundamental.

The beginning must be with the impulses. The creation of a psychology of impulse is Freud's historical service. The one-sidedness of Freud's psychology of impulse has been often depreciated; recently it has led H. Hoffmann to seek the way to a psychology of impulse on a broader foundation. Apparently the conception of impulse is often not clearly enough worked out and indeed frequently also it is interchanged or confused with the concept of instinct.[11] *Impulse is an ani-*

[11] Perhaps this can be expressed most briefly as follows: Impulse is fore-willing (*Vor-Wollen*), instinct is fore-knowing (*Vor-Wissen*). Cf. Ch. Bühler.

mal vital urge toward a—ultimately biological—satisfaction of need.[12] Impulses spring immediately and primarily from the physical, their satisfaction creates pleasure, the failure of satisfaction creates displeasure. Thus the entrance to the psychic is opened in broad front.[13] Stimulation of the impulses can be influenced through psychic experience, through psychic stimuli (for example, Pawlow's dog, erotic reading). Through the psychic arousal of impulse is initiated the physical cycle fundamental to the particular impulse aroused. To this is attached, together with its consequences, the satisfaction or lack of satisfaction of the impulse, pleasure or displeasure. The sex impulse has become the basis of psychoanalysis because of its great significance and presumably also because of its relatively easy comprehensibility. But there is no possibility of doubt that the impulse to self-preservation is no less elemental than is the sex impulse. From the impulse to self-preservation, the impulses of hunger, approach, and flight may be derived. It is possible also

[12] Kronfeld calls the impulses "the most immediate psychical manifestations" and gives a definition similar to ours: "The immediate—that is '*before* all' consciousness—present expression of needs of the whole organism." As Apfelbach expresses it: "Impulse is a psycho-physical reaction of the organism to a vital situation directed toward the bettering of the situation . . . which expresses itself primarily in movements." Here the exact purposefulness of the impulse is verbally expressed in the definition, while we have implied it in our formulation in the phrase "urge toward satisfaction."

Especial attention is to be called to Bostroem's clear exposition. He defines impulses as "biologically founded strivings which are to subserve the safety of the individual and of the species . . . urging to satisfaction with a tremendous force." With Bostroem I prefer not to include among the impulses psychointellectual strivings.

[13] It is not necessary to explain that such considerations do not justify the assumption that one thus knows how the transformation from physical to psychical takes place.

to include the approach and flight impulses in an impulse to motion, and to conceive that from the latter the approach and flight impulses develop with the gradual progress of evolution and experience.[14] It is perhaps possible also to consider that the hunger impulse has developed from an impulse to incorporation, found in primitive creatures, that is, those in the first stages of evolution. With the progress of phylogenetic as well as ontogenetic development there took place a certain differentiation of impulses. How a sublimation of impulses came about in man Freud has shown with reference to the sex impulse. The primal process remains the same: an impulse or an impulse-process is to be found at the root of all psychic processes, even the most complicated. Beneath all psychic sublimations is hidden somewhere the body which either insists impulsively on satisfaction of fundamental needs or develops unpleasant consequences from the failure of satisfaction.[15] Klages remarked: "Impulses in and for themselves belong to the character of an organism only, and not to the character of a personal ego, that is of a living being unified by mind." Phylogenetically considered that is certainly correct, but even personal egos have impulses for the satisfaction of which more possibilities are at hand than is the case in organisms without a personal ego.

[14] This is obvious as a result of observations of primitive organisms and sucklings: the movements which appear at first aimless (but not purposeless) become gradually more conscious of goal and more purposeful.

[15] Although one may like to sum up the totality of the impulses in a life-impulse it does not appear necessary to number a distinct life-impulse among the other impulses. With the concept of a death-impulse I do not like to associate myself: if the positive impulses, if the life-impulse is fading away, the natural logical consequences are obvious without the conception of a distinct death-impulse.

Temperament rests on the bodily basis and on the impulses. To it are to be added:

1. The "*fundamental and life mood* which unites those elementary physical and vital feelings, in which the tonus of the psychic life, that is the biologically favorable or unfavorable course of the life processes is expressed"[16] (Birnbaum).

2. The *emotionality* (affect) according to (*a*) its *excitability*[17] (reactive emotionality, Klages' excitability of will, temperament in a narrower sense); (*b*) its *inner course*[18] (affective resonance, affectivity, "emotional experience," excitability of feeling—Klages); (*c*) its *expression*[19] (nature, capacity for expression—Klages).

Temperament, like the impulses, is rooted in the physical and derives from it nourishment and drive. The expression of temperament is, however, to a far greater extent than impulsive processes psychically provoked and produced. If one but realizes—fully conscious that this picture does not cover the actual relationships but merely offers an obvious comparison—that the impulses belong to the deepest level and that temperament rests on the physical and the impulses as a middle level, then one may say, so to speak, that temperament is the transformer for expression of the physical in general, and of the impulses in particular, upward to the level which we call character; and that *vice versa* temperament is the transformer from the

[16] This may cover much of what Ewald attempted to include in bio-tonus.

[17] That is between not excitable or difficultly excitable, and easily excitable.

[18] Between superficial and deep.

[19] According to tempo between slow and fast, according to power between weak and strong, according to form between clumsy and agile.

upper level, character, toward the lower level, of the impulses and the physical. To express the matter otherwise: temperament is activated from two sides and is working in two directions; temperament is nourished and put in motion by the physical and the impulses, it is steered by character; temperament mediates direction from the upper to the lowest level, but it supports and forms also the highest level out of itself as well as out of the lowest level. Aside from the course from one level to the next, direct action and counteraction take place as it were by short circuit from the highest to the lowest level and *vice versa.*[20]

Impulses and temperament are the foundation of *character.* In character is to be seen the totality of voluntarily directed striving; *character means the directedness* (the steerage toward goal, *Zielsteuerung*) *of the personality.* In our picture of levels or strata or layers the physical, impulses and temperament stand in causal relationship from below upward; since these two represent the foundation of character the causal relationship of the levels progresses upward in character. This is the direction but here lies also the limitation in this realm of the causal approach with its basis in natural science. The topmost layer, character, expresses itself, as already mentioned, from above downward, as on their side temperament and impulse also work from above downward. In this operation of character from above is given the direction toward the goal. Thus in character is comprehended the total personality in meaning, aim, and purpose: character is the *causa finalis* of personality.[21] To be sure the body, impulses,

[20] Temperament in itself is to a certain degree directionless, in contradistinction to impulse and character which have, respectively, a general vital and a special personal direction.

[21] This corresponds to the formulation of William Stern: "*dort*

and temperament come into constant and immediate contact with environment; but character is the factor which regulates the interplay between total personality[22] and environment. Being pilot and ship in one, character steers the personality through the environment. This fact makes it easy to understand why the concepts personality and character are constantly treated as equivalent albeit to the detriment of clarity of conception and mutual understanding.

Processes of impulse, expression of temperament, and direction by character, operate together from below upward in *every* act of the personality; every final process, that is, every process of character spreads from above downward through temperament to the level of impulses; thus the unity of the personality is preserved in each of its experiences. From the outside we see the total personality, the psychophysically neutral individual always in its especial relationship to environment. In speaking of impulses, temperament, character, the signification is always merely abstractions which are used in the interests of understanding. At the same time it should not be forgotten that from the outside, and also from the inside in self-observation, attitudes are observed continually in which the impulsive, the temperamental, or that which pertains to character may, to be sure, predominate, but none of these is able to enter alone into the total experience.

Impulses and temperament founded in the physical follow on the whole the "biological curve of development" (H. Hoffmann); they are essentially constitutionally conditioned, even though at the same time like

wo die Kausalität in Form einer immanenten Zielstrebigkeit auftritt, ist das Gebilde, welches zugleich Quellpunkt und Zielpunkt des zielstrebigen Wirkens ist, eine Person."

[22] Herein is to be included also intelligence.

the physical they are open to environmental influence within certain though broad limits. In spite of its causal biological foundation character is extensively modifiable by environment and destiny: herein lies the tremendous significance of a personal set-goal.

Every person has impulses as he has a body. Every person is in some way impulsive. There are in themselves neither good nor bad, but only strong or weak impulses. The strength or weakness of the impulse is founded in the physical. Similarly there is no such thing as a good or a bad temperament. To be sure we may speak of happy or unhappy temperament but in so doing we mean that the temperaments thus described are advantageous or disadvantageous to their possessors, that is, on a subjective side. One may call the temperament of a person (or better said, a person from the point of view of his temperament) cheerful or gloomy, difficultly or easily excitable, superficial or deep, slow and clumsy, or quick and agile, as one has in mind the fundamental mood, the excitability, the affectivity, or the nature. There is no such thing as an objective factor for the evaluation of personality on the basis of temperament that is temperament alone. We would rank an egoistic hypomanic less highly than a kindly depressive, although the former possesses a "happy" temperament, the latter an "unhappy" one. We seek a man's friendship not because he is always in a good mood but because we believe we can bring our aims into harmony with his which, however, on this account do not at all need to be identical with ours. In other words: the *evaluation* of a personality from the outside, the objective evaluation, is concerned with the realm of aim and purpose, that is, with character. In consequence the character of the personality is fundamental for its relations to the community in the nar-

rower and the broader sense; this fact Adler also recognizes. In this sense the term "good" or "bad" character signifies an evaluation in respect to the goals and purposes of the community with which the set-goals of the good character are in harmony, those of the bad character in opposition. Without any ethical implication it is possible to speak of characters which are adjusted to the community (purposeful), or not adjusted (not purposeful).[23] For all this as Utitz said, "character is not a peaceful picture but rather a swift-moving drama, full of action, happenings, and development." With Utitz we find it "obvious that no external circumstances can influence more than the present possibilities of the character. The character has however—under certain circumstances—very many possibilities within a very wide range. Which of them will be fulfilled, and to which fulfilment will be denied, depends frequently on destiny. The formed character, the already molded character, is not to be confused with the potential character (*charakterologischen Anlagen*)."[24]

Here for the support of our whole conception it is necessary to discuss a few ideas developed by William Stern.[25] The distinctive characteristics of the person are *einheitliches Sein* ("unity"), *Zweckwirken* (*ziel-*

[23] It is not possible to discuss here the fact that the aims of society also change (for example, conceptions of right and wrong). An absolute fixity of values is also not to be found in the characterological.

[24] Utitz differentiates endogenous and destined characters. The development of the former "is preponderantly conditioned from within. They stand firm and fast, and are little moldable by outside influence"; the latter is "the character essentially stamped by its destiny."

[25] Person und Sache. *System des kritischen Personalismus* (Leip-

strebiges Wirken, "purposeful striving"), and *Individualisierung* ("individualization"), in opposition to the thing[26] which is a non-individual conglomeration without self-initiated effect. With regard to the unified capacity for effect and purposefulness there are higher and lower persons—Godhead, humanity, people, family *versus* cells, molecules, atoms. In their midst stands the human personality as an integral part of the higher persons and a bond of union for the lower. Each person has an autotely, that is, a system of his own purposes directed toward his own personality, toward the ego (ego-purposes); herein are contained the goals of self-preservation and self-development. The autotely of the person[27] is adjusted to the heterotely, that is the system of foreign purposes (non-ego-purposes). The heterotely is composed of superior ranking personal purposes (hypertely),[28] coördinating personal purposes (syntely),[29] and superior ranking objective or factual purposes (abstract purposes-idiotely).[30] The absorp-

zig), Bd. 1, *Ableitung und Grundlehre* (2 Aufl. 1923); Bd. 2, *Die menschliche Persönlichkeit* (3 Aufl. 1923); Bd. 3, *Wertphilosophie* (1924).

[26] Stern insists: "The pair of opposites: teleologically—mechanically (person—thing) and psychically—physically (soul—body) stand the one upon the other in perpendicular relationship."

[27] According to Stern the purposefulness of things lies outside of them. "On the contrary the person becomes a person through the immanence of the purposefulness. It is itself the purpose, has 'autotely.'" That which takes place within it is conditioned—mediately or immediately, partially or wholly—by the set-goal (*Zielsetzung*), to assert and to win a unified personality.

[28] That which, for example, belongs in the autotely of the family enters into the hypertely of the individual personality.

[29] The autotely of fellow men, acquaintances, friends, relatives, would belong to the syntely of the personality concerned in respect to its system of purposes.

[30] The relation of ideas and ideal to the idiotely is clear.

tion of the foreign purposes into the system of ego-purposes takes place through introception.[31] Through this process of inner appropriation which represents a battle and a rendering of account to the world, the foreign purpose loses its strangeness but in opposition to the personal purposes remains directed toward a non-ego.[32]

We are of the opinion as already explained, that the human personality can neither be grasped nor understood unless it be considered from the teleological as well as from the causal aspect. As Ewald himself wrote, the strictly causal consideration remains in the realm of explanation which does not enable us to accomplish what is necessary. Teleology, or in the words of Stern "the system of purposes of the human personality" is not to be understood without including its task in the service of superindividual entities. The structure of the systems of individual and foreign purposes Stern seems to have given us with great clearness. If we have tried previously to examine the foundation and structure of personality from the angle of causality, and afterward to find what is teleologically conditioned in the personality itself and in the character in particular, it is now possible on the basis of Stern's theory to place personality and character in the larger setting of the systems of foreign purposes.

[31] Stern: "Only persons or personifications can be introcepted."

[32] Stern writes: "As far as individuals take up into themselves the hypertely of the whole and still remain autotelous they relieve the whole of a portion of its task and help to fulfill its demands. In this mutual give and take there is an advantage for both those concerned —that is indeed the fundamental significance of introception for the interrelationship of the higher and lower ranked stages of personality." Fundamental forms of introception are: loving, intelligent understanding, aesthetic susceptibility, sanctifying introception, practical introception.

It was admitted frankly at the outset that causality reaches from below upward, and finality from above downward, and now we are aware that character has no monopoly over finality or teleology. On the contrary finality or teleology concern the person as a whole, as indeed personality fundamentally and always operates only as a whole.[33] Nevertheless we believe the particular final or teleological emphasis of the character side of the personality can be maintained, in the sense of our definition, and this in dependence on the before-mentioned conceptions of directional and preparatory dispositions (tendencies and potentialities); and in dependence on Stern's conclusion: "It is the tendencies of the personality which in general set its potentialities in motion . . . the system of set-goals creates and forms for itself the system of the means." Here the immediate union between the "character nucleus" of the personality and its system of purposes becomes obvious. It is not to be forgotten that it is the "system of the means," the preparatory dispositions,[34] which forms the substructure of the directional dispositions of the character.

Perhaps now it may be possible to clarify somewhat certain earlier remarks. It was said that body, impulses, and temperament are in constant contact with the environment but that character regulates the interplay between the total personality and the environment. Bringing in the intermediate discussion in the

[33] In our opinion this fact is in none of the available systems more clearly and consistently found and represented than in William Stern's "critical personalism" (*kritischer Personalismus*).

[34] Physical forces, efficiency of the single organs, psychic capacities and fitness, according to Stern. According to our exposition we would have to enumerate the physical, impulses, temperament, and intellect.

sense of Stern, it may be said now that the autotely of the human personality comprises within itself, body, impulses, temperament, and character, but that nevertheless the directional factor represents that which is peculiar to character, and that furthermore it is the character which is determinative for the adjustment of the personality in the systems of foreign purposes—in other words determinative for the introceptive processes.

The autotely of the personality, according to Stern, includes in self-preservation: the preservation of existence and essence; in self-development: on the conservative side growth and maturing,[35] on the productive side the effort toward a "goal not yet realized." In child and adolescent, that is in the personality conceived as growing and maturing, there is still included in the development the autotely together with the introception, i.e., adjustment to the heterotely. It is certainly exceptional when an adolescent individual already has a "complete" system of purposes and is conscious of the fact; nevertheless, this happens and incidentally argues among other things for the endogenous or constitutional conditioning or partial conditioning of character. In general, in the development of the person an effort toward an ideal state, in the sense of productive self-development, is evident as the *leitmotif,* in the course of which the autotely in itself balanced and harmonious is fitted into the frame of the heterotely. Toward this condition—for the present it

[35] In this connection another remark of Stern is important with reference to the totality—"*unitas multiplex.*" "There is in reality no independence of development of speech, sexuality, etc., but instead only a development of the personality in respect to its language, sexual, etc., activities."

will be called orthotely[36]—the individual strives until maturity, without conscious collaboration of the personality. In the period of maturing when the person for the first time becomes at all conscious of his personality, of his ego,[37] there results normally also a conscious attitude toward the system of purposes and herewith the conscious striving in the direction of the orthotely. In any case the healthy personality at the conclusion of its maturing endeavors to accomplish introceptively a stage of equilibrium between the ego and the environment, that is between the autotely and the heterotely.

The accomplishment of this stage of equilibrium, the effort toward the orthotely, is a task which cannot be accomplished by all individuals with the same personality assets even within the range of health; the task is preconditioned for one in the direction of greater ease, for another in the direction of greater difficulty. In order to make this clear, the terms *concordance* and *discordance*[38] with their adjectives will be employed.

[36] If this chain of thought be followed to its end it becomes evident that from the point of view of the person the autotely would be accomplished when the autotelic and heterotelic adjustment of the person have reached a condition of complete equilibrium, a condition beyond which there exists no more goal-striving for the person concerned. For this there are theoretically two possibilities: the complete *entering* of the person with its autotely into a system of foreign purposes or the *cessation* of all personal existence of the person and its *transition* to the status of a thing, in this connection, death. In both possibilities the goal of the productive self-development, the goal of the person, to grow out of itself, comes (theoretically) to an extreme expression.

[37] Compare the discussions of Charlotte Bühler.

[38] We do not mind borrowing these expressions from the science of heredity. Concordance and discordance, according to our usage, are combinations of causal and teleological concepts.

By a concordant personality is to be understood a personality the construction of which is harmonious with respect to body, impulses, temperament, and character[39] so that in each direction and at each level and in their interrelationships all processes proceed without friction. A personality will be concordant, for example, if possessed of a healthy, moderately strong body, and a moderate impulsiveness, together with an average temperament and an "upright" character which knows its goal (Person A). But also a personality may be concordant if possessed of a healthy, delicate physique, if its impulses and temperament correspond to its physique, and if the set-goal of the character is suited to this substructure (Person B). By a discordant personality is meant a personality whose construction is not so happily harmonized, in which body, impulses, temperament, and character, do not interact without friction. Hence, in a discordant personality the frictionless issue of the processes is not immediately or permanently accomplished. Hitches and halts, retardations and short-circuitings will come from above and below. Much that in the concordant personality is in stable equilibrium, in the discordant personality is in unstable equilibrium. Thus many constructions become complicated. If we assume in the construction of Person A instead of the moderate an excessive impulsiveness, then we have at once a discordant condition, which works itself out not only on the impulsive level but also on the higher levels (Person C). Or if we assume in Person B instead of a corresponding tem-

[39] We restrict ourselves here to mention of the intellectual endowment, but believe that this can be added without difficulty to our conception of the construction of the personality. According to Stern it pertains to the preparatory dispositions; according to Klages, to the raw material.

perament a very vigorous one, then we have discordance again (Person D). In a type such as Person C, character may often accomplish a certain balance so that the personality may come into some accord with its total construction; the same result occurs not infrequently in such types as Person D. The concordant personality strives of itself in the direction of orthotely; a very considerable number of the secondarily balanced[40] among the discordant personalities do the same. Here it is important to stress the fact that this secondary balance belongs in the broad range of normal healthy personalities. Those discordant personalities who do not accomplish the balance will be discussed later.

It is possible to speak of concordance and discordance also with reference to children and adolescents, that is individuals before the completion of maturity. This is possible because concordance and discordance in themselves primarily may be independent of the conscious ego, or with the conscious attitude toward the system of purposes and the effort toward the orthotely.[41]

Corresponding to the total construction of the personality concordance and discordance may be essentially conditioned also by hereditary bases. Consider-

[40] That the secondary balancing not only *can* succeed but very often *does* succeed leads us to speak of concordant and discordant personalities instead of harmonious and disharmonious personalities. Concordant personalities will be as a rule "harmonious" (exception, for example, certain hypomanics); discordant personalities may become not infrequently "harmonious."

[41] Concordance existing in childhood may be lost in the maturing; similarly a discordance present throughout childhood and adolescence may give place ultimately to concordance at the close of the period of maturing. There is no doubt that there exists generally a high correlation between puberty and discordance.

ing certain experiences one may realize that concordance and discordance in our usage are recognized as conditioned largely by hereditary concordance and discordance in the parents.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION AND CONCEPT OF PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY

THE clinical classification of psychopathies has led to a consideration of the construction of personality. We must now return to the proper subject of this study.

The corporeal represents the causal foundation of the psychical phenomena which we are investigating. With regard to this there has been no doubt. There has been recognized in the construction of personality a threefoldness consisting of the three strata: impulses, temperament, and character. As has been suggested already there is no need for any special proof of the fact that in the main this same structure is found in psychopathic personalities. In this regard we have avoided definition thus far because it has been our task not to start out from a definition but to arrive at one. Even now a few more preliminary steps are necessary. Before it will be possible to define psychopathic personality we must become clear as to what we propose to cover by the term. Later it will be impossible to avoid a definite position with regard to the conception of the "psychopathic constitution." Finally since the major concern is the establishment and description of psychopathic types, the present task cannot be completed without a few remarks concerning the concept of the psychopathic types.

The terms "psychopathic" and "psychopathy" are used to designate a large group of characteristics or conditions which lie in the broad zone between mental health and mental illness (psychosis). Kurt Schneider,

who points out that the two terms were used earlier in a more inclusive sense for all psychopathological phenomena, asserts that so far as nomenclature is concerned, there are, practically speaking, "scarcely any essential differences." There is "scarcely any controversy as to what in practice is to be included in psychopathic personalities." A definition of psychopathic personality Schneider accomplishes less easily. He first explains abnormal personalities: "variations, deviations from the—vaguely conceived but ill-defined—average of human personalities, deviations upwards or downwards toward the more or toward the less, abnormal personalities in the most literal sense."[1] Schneider rightly refuses to make abnormal and psychopathic personality identical. He limits the spheres of the latter to a subdivision of the former with the following definition: "Psychopathic personalities are those abnormal personalities who suffer from their abnormality or from whose abnormality society suffers." He stresses the arbitrary character of this limitation which he makes on practical rather than scientific grounds "because under this definition we can include all the abnormal personalities that the psychiatrist has to deal with professionally." This definition is sufficiently broad, and nevertheless includes but a limited group of all abnormal personalities.[2] From the standpoint of content, furthermore, no objection is to be raised to the concept of suffering or the causing of suffering as a

[1] To this corresponds Krisch's conception that psychopaths are *Intensitätsvarianten menschlicher Persönlichkeitseigenschaften* ("variants with respect to the intensity of the human personality characteristics").

[2] This amounts to saying: all those who apart from the psychiatric standpoint are abnormal and all those deviates and sick persons with whom psychiatry has to deal.

distinguishing characteristic of psychopathic abnormality. Schneider's definition thus becomes plausible especially in the light of his premises. In any case, Schneider's clear reasoning shows convincingly that it is impossible to give a hard and fast definition of the psychopathic personality which would hold for all times and all situations. In other words, one cannot use the formula "Psychopathic personalities are . . ."; it is more to the point to make use of such a phrase as "by psychopathic personalities we understand. . . ." Furthermore, on the basis of our discussion of teleology, Schneider's critical and careful formulation suggests that essential to the psychopathic personality may be a defective organization of the autotely—else there would be no inner suffering—and an unsatisfactory adjustment to the heterotely—else there would be no occasion for society to suffer through the psychopathic personality. Thus fundamentally the duality of social and pathological factors in Schneider's definition may be reduced through teleology to a common denominator.

Kraepelin considers psychopaths to represent in part the product of circumscribed inhibitions of psychic development[3] and in part the preliminary stages and the mildest symptom complexes of psychoses. No objection need be made to either definition. There are psychopathic phenomena which can be explained in terms of inhibitions of development or may be at least considered analogous to inhibitions of development. On the other hand, there are among the psychopathies

[3] Kraepelin speaks of "personality failures (*missratenen Persönlichkeiten*) whose development has been hindered through unfavorable hereditary influences, blastophthoria, or other early inhibitions. When the resulting defects are limited essentially to the emotional and volitional realm, we speak of them as psychopaths."

some forms which either certainly or probably are to be regarded as forerunners of the major psychoses. Kraepelin's definitions are correct bio-genetically or clinically considered. It is unnecessary to give further examples. There are standpoints enough from which psychopathic personalities may be defined and definitions enough which from their appropriate standpoints may pass as plausible.

Kurt Schneider refuses emphatically to designate psychopaths as "sickly personalities" ultimately because there is no question of disease processes but rather of constitutional conditions. This is also our opinion. We consider it necessary in this realm to avoid the terms "sick,"[4] "sickly," "inferior," and instead to employ a more neutral expression, e.g., "deviate" or "deviating"—in any case an expression which does not imply a stigma.

Attempting now to achieve a definition of psychopathic personality on the basis of our previous discussion we are faced with the possibility of approaching the definition either from a causal or from a teleological point of view. We propose to do first the one and then the other and after that to proceed to a causal-final definition.

That which separates the psychopathic from the normal personality must be sought both in the constituent strata of the personality and in their interaction. In this assumption we are indeed in agreement with all other authors who with Kraepelin commonly shift the psychological essence of the psychopathic deviations into the emotional life and volitional endowment. Yet this distinction is rather a negative one in so far as in this way the purely intellectual has been excluded. A

[4] Schneider correctly rejects the term "nervous disease" as applied to psychopathic personalities.

number of modern authors seek the psychopathic element in the character without making character and personality identical. Thus Kehrer inclines to use Klages' formulations, interpreting the psychopathies as "mild character illnesses." Ewald seems to incline to a similar conception, and Kurt Schneider says "that psychopathies are not diseases but rather characterological varieties." We cannot find sufficient grounds for the exclusion of deviations pertaining to impulse and temperament from the conception of the psychopathies. We consider it erroneous and misleading to work too much with the concept "psychopathic character." Nevertheless we are in nowise unmindful of the fact that all deviations pertaining to impulses and temperament leave a precipitate in character, so that all that is psychopathic can be observed in a certain sense secondarily from the angle of character.

We have had occasion already to point out the fact that in the case of the schizoid, character, and in the cycloid, temperament, stand out as the striking features of the personality. There are still other psychopathic personalities or types psychopathically stigmatized, so to speak, either on the side of temperament or on the side of character. There are also psychopathic types which are distinguished primarily by a peculiarity in impulse. It may be said for the present that there are not only character-psychopaths but also psychopaths with respect to impulse and with respect to temperament. It is not to be forgotten nevertheless, that the personality of all psychopaths is composed of three strata and is thus never exclusively determined on any one level whether of impulse, of temperament, or of character. It should be recalled furthermore, that deviation in one stratum or another is never without effect on the other strata and on the interaction of all

strata.[5] In all events the example of the cycloid and schizoid demonstrates clearly the possible significance of temperament and character in the determination of certain psychopathic types.[6]

It follows from these remarks in general accord with the prevailing view, that *not everything in the psychopathic personality must be psychopathic.* The determination of psychopathy may come from the stratum of impulse, of temperament, or of character, sometimes even from two of the strata, or from some deviation in their interaction. No factor pertaining to impulse, temperament, or character is ever "localized" but enters as a vital element into the dynamics of the total personality. It is the same in the case of the psychopathic impulse, temperamental, and character factors: we take account of the entire personality and analyze out the psychopathic determinant.

It is impossible to draw boundaries between the normal and the psychopathic. There are only fluid transitions. Characteristics, manifestations, and reaction patterns, employed in the conception of the psychopathic obey biologically and psychologically the same laws as the analogous manifestations in the normal. In our present time and environment much may be considered psychopathic which in another time (Renaissance) or

[5] This fact, moreover, demonstrates the totality of the personality also from the causal side.

[6] In this connection it must not be forgotten that in one and the same psychopath sometimes temperament and sometimes character may appear more prominent. This has been shown clearly by H. Hoffmann in his treatment of the problem. This changeability should occasion no surprise, since even in the "façade" of the healthy we see continual interchange between temperament and character in addition to the varying expressions of the impulse. More than that, it is only from the fusion of all emotional and volitional elements in the personality unit that we abstract our strata.

in another locality (southern climate) or among other races (e.g., the Latin races) were or are considered as in no sense outside the pale of the normal. The psychopathic then is differentiated not *qualitatively* but only *quantitatively* from the normal. When occasionally some psychopathic manifestation gives the impression of qualitative difference, careful analysis will show that the psychopathic "root" has been especially strong and has developed vigorous ramifications in many directions, thus giving rise to secondary formations which have *seemed* to run counter to the normal processes. From the fact that psychopathic deviations are to be distinguished from normal phenomena only in terms of degree, it becomes clear immediately that a given psychic characteristic may appear to be psychopathic without falling either above or below a given average. This occurs simply by virtue of the fact that the characteristic is, so to speak, intermingled with other more or less clearly marked traits in a total personality of relatively low or relatively high level. Thus in the one case a relatively insignificant excitability may stand out in sharp relief, and *vice versa* in the other an affectivity, really quite equal to the average, may appear as relatively too meager. There is therefore no absolute standard for psychopathic characteristics: their quantitative formation, their relative position in the total personality, and eventually the juxtaposition of different psychopathic factors, give to the personality the psychopathic stamp. It is thus hardly necessary to say that a group of thoroughly normal traits may give the impression of psychopathy simply because of the deficient or incomplete harmonization of these traits. The psychopathic stamp, therefore, is not given to the personality by fundamental traits which are psychopathic in themselves—and this is

basic to our concept: *the psychopathic effect is grounded in the quantitative disharmony of the personality traits with respect to each other, and in the total personality.*

The present explanation remains thus generally within the psychic realm. For the sake of clarity, however, a digression concerning the physical will not be omitted. The ultimate basis of the psychopathic within the personality lies in the physical. It is assumed also that the physical basis of the psychopathic personality differs from that of the normal only in degree. Whether the concern in the individual case be metabolic, endocrine, or cerebral processes or their morphological substrata, we still would regard as the determining factor a faster or slower, an increased or decreased, functioning or glandular activity. We reject absolutely the idea that there may exist here as compared to the normal *qualitatively* different functions or *qualitatively* different morphological structures.

We come now to the formulation of the *causal* definition: *By psychopathic personalities we understand those personalities which are characterized by quantitative peculiarities in the impulse, temperament, or character strata.* To this we add: *The degree of the peculiarities is relative. It is dependent upon the totality of the individual personality.* This definition avoids every unnecessary limitation and makes possible the connection with the genetic and clinical together with the teleological point of view. This corresponds to the causal aspect of the definition or to this causal portion of our definition.

Mentioning Kurt Schneider's psychopathological and social definition we have already pointed out the teleological background which Schneider himself underscores with the remark that his conception of the

psychopathic personality "must be handled with caution because the teleological point of view is stressed regarding the second group." The excessive caution with reference to the teleological standpoint seems unnecessary. The personality is to be regarded as a "goal-striving individual unity"[7] with its autotely adjusted to its heterotely, the purposes of which it makes its own through the process of introception.[8] Self-preservation and self-development are the goals of the personality. The command "remain that which thou wast" is superseded by "become that which thou art" (Stern). The personality is to be regarded as in constant motion toward its goals, toward its self-realization. We have always to deal with the individual, the total person, and there are always abstractions if we consider it in one aspect, from a special point of view, or with reference to a particular disposition or characteristic. How then are we to proceed from the personality in general, from the "normal" personality, to the psychopathic personality?

It has been noted already that according to Schneider's definition insufficient organization of autotely

[7] Stern's excursive definition of the "person" is as follows: "Such a being which in spite of the multiplicity of the parts constitutes a real original unity having its own values, and as such in spite of the multiplicity of partial functions achieves unified goal-striving activity." Stern speaks of "personality when the ideal aspect of the person is to be emphasized." He considers the person always as an actuality, as a compromise; he considers the personality as never complete, as an ideal. Stern continues: "The person is neither mind nor soul, but a goal-striving individual unity; and its psychical as well as its physical manifestations come into existence and significance only through the psycho-physically neutral combination."

[8] Stern explains: "The introception of foreign purposes into the system of own purposes is no static condition but an active process; it represents the strongest expression of the personal self-development which is continually dynamic.

and an unsatisfactory adaptation to heterotely are suggested as essential factors in the psychopathic personality. Related to the foregoing discussion this would mean that the psychopathic personality is insufficient in its introception and does not strive steadily to the state of equilibrium between autotely and heterotely, provisionally termed "orthotely." We have assumed that concordance makes easier the striving toward orthotely and that discordance renders it more difficult. Does it follow that concordance excludes psychopathy? Is discordance perhaps equivalent to the teleological conception of the psychopathic personality? The first question is, generally speaking, to be answered in the affirmative. A person who is balanced causally and teleologically, who finds himself in accord with his environment, will not be psychopathic. The second question is not to be answered so unequivocally. It is to be remembered, for example, that in childhood and youth and especially in the adolescent period discordant conditions are, so to speak, "physiological."[9] Furthermore among the adolescent there are numerous personalities which, in spite of the difficulties, get along fairly well with their discordance, that is, with themselves and with life; on this account they cannot be considered as outside the range of health. In common with the concordant personality they have the conscious, unerring striving toward orthotely. In addition to these "normal discordants" there are, however, those who do not attain either to an entirely closed autotely or to an adjustment to the heterotely. Such personalities cannot progress directly toward orthotely. These are the psychopathic personalities, who, under another category, will be still better understood in their teleological

[9] A certain degree of what we have called "secondary balance" may belong to normal personality development.

aspects. From the teleological standpoint they are not sharply differentiated from the non-psychopathic personalities, nor are they distinguished qualitatively; instead they emerge gradually from among the discordant.[10] Thus causally as well as teleologically considered not everything in the psychopathic personality must be psychopathic: the autotely of the psychopathic personality is by no means without goal and purpose; but its integration is incomplete and the heterotelic adjustment is disturbed in that foreign purposes undergo an introception differing somewhat in intensity and breadth, i.e., in degree,[11] from that which takes place in non-psychopathic personalities.[12]

Without evaluations a teleological consideration of the personality is inconceivable. The object of the striving is not a goal without meaning or reality but a goal endowed with value. Value gives significance to the goal and stimulus to the striving person. The self-value of the personality is in accord with its system of own purposes; the personality is both carrier and goal of its own value: "All the individual goals of the personality are merely attempts at the realization of values and at the enhancement of values" (Stern). The foreign values correspond to the system of foreign purposes; by means of introception the human personality increases its "store of ego-values."[13] The personality

[10] Observely the discordants do not stand in sharp opposition to the concordants but are related to them through transitional stages.

[11] Herein is asserted no preconception as to whether the introception is lesser or greater.

[12] The distinction from the psychotic is to be found in the more or less complete dissolution of the autotely and in the increasing introceptive impoverishment. Pseudo-goals also play an important rôle in the case of the psychotic.

[13] Stern teaches: "In store of ego-values (*Selbstwertfuelle*) man stands highly above the animal because in his self-value he includes

has its own value and is in itself ego-purpose, furthermore it emanates values and appraises its own ego-value as well as foreign values. Our provisional conception of striving toward orthotely may be replaced at this point by the conception of striving toward the increase of the store of ego-values by introception;[14] this means striving for adjustment between ego- and non-ego-values and also for the equilibrium between ego- and non-ego-purposes.

Having attempted to discuss the psychopathic personality from the point of view of autotely and heterotely we may now continue with the concept of value. We are brought back to concordance and discordance. The concordant and the normal discordant personalities have a properly balanced autotely and strive directly toward the enrichment of the store of ego-values by introception. Both may have equal evaluations: in correct appraisal of ego- and non-ego-values they enrich the one through the introception of the other. But this does not happen in the case of all discordant personalities. Some of them[15] emerge from their discordance with a false estimate of their ego-value, resulting

national and human, ethical and religious, logical and aesthetic values, and finds his own self-value realized only in such a fusion." "Introception means to enrich one's store of ego-values, to make one's self more god-like." "The ego makes of the affirmation of non-ego-values a part of its self-value. More than that, it arrives at its own true self-value only in so far as it makes other values its own. . . ." "For in the end the essential difference in the value system, that is, between ego-values and foreign values rests on the difference within the personal system of purposes, that is, between ego-purpose and foreign purpose. And all individual goals of the personality are merely attempts at the realization and enhancement of values."

[14] Adler's conception of the *Leitlinie* tends in the same direction.

[15] Here also we must think of fluid transitions and not of sharp boundary lines.

in a false estimate of the foreign values[16] and a distorted striving toward the enrichment of the store of ego-values.[17] The under- or overestimation of the self-value (whether actual or apparent) leads to deviations in introception and to disturbances in the autotely through the resort to pseudo-values, especially to pseudo-self-values and their corresponding set-goals.[18] Pseudo-values[19] are included in the system of values, without, however, leading to an actual enrichment of the store of ego-values.[20] The striving for the pseudo-values enters into the autotely and helps to build up its totality, without constructing it solidly, but instead loosely. It might be said that such autotelies fail here and there to ring true. And yet, every one of these personalities, of these psychopathic personalities, has its autotely, for obviously it is a total personality. The inclusion of the pseudo-values in the value-system of the personality limits the enrichment of its store of ego-values. In other words it hinders the whole development of the personality. Teleologically considered the analogy between psychopathic and immature person-

[16] Self-depreciation and depreciation of others play the greater rôle but self-overvaluation and overvaluation of others occur not infrequently.

[17] The term "ego-values" (or "self-value," *Selbstwert*) is used here as the counterpart of the term "foreign values" (or "non-ego values," *Fremdwerte*) in developing the concept of the relationship between the autotely and the heterotely. Similar considerations govern the choice of the terms "individual purposes" and "foreign purposes," "foreign" being used in the sense of "other," i.e., non-ego.

[18] In extreme cases one might speak of "Pseudotelie."

[19] By pseudo-goal we mean not an aim that has merely the appearance of a goal, to the person having it, but rather one that, while it may seem a genuine goal to him, is false, unrealizable, or in other ways fails to function as a genuine goal.

[20] Clearly one may say, pseudo-values are not amalgamated with the store of self-values.

alities—children and adolescents—becomes clear, all the more because the immature personality has pseudo-goals[21] which are in a way "physiological," disappearing normally with the progress of development to be replaced by the formation of ego-purposes and by the introception of foreign purposes. In this connection it is suggested again that not everything in the psychopathic personality must be psychopathic: the mere direction toward some pseudo-values does not mean that the ego is entirely determined by pseudo-goals. Nevertheless the pseudo-goals which are present, goals toward which the personality is directed as a whole, are sufficient to give to the total personality a psychopathic stamp. It should be added that the difference between the value and the pseudo-value is not qualitative and absolute but quantitative and relative. Valuations and values may change.[22] What was formerly pseudo-value may later become, through natural development or under special circumstances, a genuine value. The reverse also may be true. Furthermore what to one personality is a value may be excluded from the value-system of another personality as a pseudo-value.

Close adherence to Stern's definition of the "person" would lead to the following *teleological* definition of the psychopathic personality:

By psychopathic personalities we understand personalities whose unified goal-striving activity is impaired by quantitative deviations in the ego- and for-

[21] It follows that the mere presence of a pseudo-goal is not in itself sufficient to place a personality in the psychopathic group. The important thing is the meaning of the pseudo-goal or of the pseudo-goals for the total personality. There is perhaps scarcely a single person whose autotely does not include some pseudo-goal.

[22] In the case of the human personality and among the higher types of persons with the exception of the Deity.

eign valuation leading to the establishment of pseudo-values and to the striving toward pseudo-goals.

Few comments are necessary. To begin with: psychopathic personalities do sometimes also achieve "unified and goal-striving activity." However, this takes place only under certain handicaps. In the case of the concordant types handicaps in this sense do not exist. In the case of the non-psychopathic discordants, secondary balance prevents the development of "quantitative deviations in the ego- and foreign valuation" or else corrects those which may have begun to develop,[23] so that psychopathic handicaps to the unified goal-striving activity may not occur.

These conditions prepare the way for a combining of *the causal and the teleological definitions* of the psychopathic personality through the application of the concept of discordance, which from the causal-teleological and psychophysical standpoints is quite neutral:

By psychopathic personalities we understand those discordant personalities which on the causal side are characterized by quantitative peculiarities in the impulse, temperament, or character strata and in their unified goal-striving activity are impaired by quantitative deviations in the ego- and foreign valuation.

A few remarks remain concerning the psychopathic personality types. With Utitz, who has modified somewhat Stern's formulation,[24] we understand by type

[23] Herein also we see the merely quantitative nature of the difference between the non-psychopathically and the psychopathically discordant types.

[24] Stern's definition is as follows: "A psychological type is a dominant disposition of a psychically or psycho-physically neutral kind which pertains in a comparable manner to a group of men without separating this group unequivocally and universally from other groups." It is not necessary for us to give a broad discussion of the concept of type. The Stern-Utitz definition is especially suit-

"peculiarities of a psychic or psycho-physically neutral kind shared comparably by a group of men in such a way that the group is separated neither unequivocally nor universally from other groups." With this definition of type before us, a special definition of psychopathic type is not necessary. In this presentation we propose to describe types in general. In other words we do not propose to write exhaustive treatises on individual personalities, but to bring together groups which are distinguished by "psychopathic peculiarities" and are thus in the sense of our causal definition "characterized by quantitative peculiarities[25] in impulse, temperament, or character," and "whose unified goal-striving activity" in the sense of our teleological definition "is impaired by quantitative deviations in the ego- and foreign valuation."

Of the program outlined in the opening sentences of this chapter there remains to be discussed the concept of "psychopathic constitution." Ziehen has brought together as "psychopathic constitution" different groups of the milder "functional psychical disease conditions" within which his "hereditarily degenerate, psychopathic constitution" may correspond closely to our psychopathic personality. Fortunately this use of the word constitution has been abandoned entirely. Those authors who today still speak of psychopathic constitution (chief among them Birnbaum and Bumke) apparently express thus a biological foundation; at

able for our purpose in that it provides for psychophysical neutrality. Utitz says significantly: "The type does not deal exhaustively with a human being but distinguishes him only in one aspect which he shares with other individuals."

[25] We have included in our definition the word "peculiarity" (*Besonderheit*) having become acquainted with it in connection with the Utitz-Stern definition of type and found it useful.

least, it seems to us impossible to find in their use of the term another meaning than that of a hereditary psychopathic endowment. Constitution is a more inclusive biological concept which embraces the physical and the psychical, the inherited and the acquired. In consequence we find it correct to speak of a pyknic-cycloid[26] or of a pyknic-cyclothymic constitution. But we would not regard as correct such concepts as pyknic constitution or cycloid constitution, because, in the one case, we have to deal only with the physical and in the other only with the psychical. We would thus be coming back to the infelicitous "partial constitutions" which can produce nothing but confusion. From the standpoint of psychopathic personalities the pyknic-cycloid types which have been included in one constitutional cycle include from the angle of the psychopathic personalities a series of *groups*. In addition to representatives of the pyknic-cycloid constitution there are included among the psychopathic personalities a multitude of types about the constitution of which we know nothing. Thus since "constitution" passes as something biological it is a mistake to speak of a "psychopathic constitu-

[26] Pyknic and leptosomic (leptosomatic) are two extreme types of build or physique described by Kretschmer, to whose book on Physique and Character, I refer. The pyknic type is generally characterized by medium height, roundness, and a soft broad face. The leptosomic type is generally characterized by length, deficiency of roundness, and a small or narrow face.

Cycloid means a group of temperamentally unbalanced personalities who have rather distinct relationship to the manic depressive psychoses; one may consider the cycloids as the psychopathic offshoots of the manic depressive psychoses. Under cyclothymes or cyclothymics one understands mild forms of manic depressive troubles. Kretschmer uses this term very inclusively "for large general biotypes, which include the great mass of healthy individuals with the few corresponding (*sc.* manic depressive) psychotics which are scattered among them."

tion." It may be noted also that the use of this term in a sphere which is as yet biologically unexplored imparts a biological prejudice which it is preferable to avoid.

It is, however, by no means necessary to avoid entirely the use of the term constitution in this connection. The question of the origin of the psychopathic types is certainly not solved. It may be said, however, that in all probability *Anlagen* are to be ranked among the most essential genetic factors. In any case there will be excluded from the present discussion manifestations in which psychopathic pictures have been developed through exogenous illnesses (post-encephalitic conditions, etc.). We emphasize the view that factors lying in the biological constitution are the most important determinants of the psychopathies; thus one may speak of constitutional psychopathies.[27] We have in mind here neither *one* constitution—e.g., the misconception of the inherited degenerative constitution, which appears from time to time rather like a sea-serpent from the ocean—nor *one* constitution cycle. It is suggested simply that in the psychopathic disposition factors in the constitution of the individual are basic. There follows the possibility at least in the future of forming constitutional psychopathic groups.

[27] Constitutional psychopathy would thus mean that the psychopathic elements of a personality are to be traced genetically to its constitution. This is, however, a totally different matter from an identification of psychopathy and constitution. A pure pyknic type of hypomaniac belongs to the pyknic-cycloid constitution cycle. He is a constitutional psychopath. It would be a mistake to speak of a hypomanic constitution or of a hypomanic-psychopathic constitution, for these belong actually much more to the pyknic-cycloid constitution than the pyknic physique and the hypomanic temperament, no matter whether there is in question the corresponding constitutional cycle or the individual constitution.

CHAPTER V

PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES CONSIDERED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF IMPULSE

Introductory

ACCORDING to the views about to be set forth, there are relatively few types of psychopathic personality which can be understood as impulsive in the strict sense of the term. In substantiation it appears advisable to extend the discussion concerning impulse, impulsive acts, and impulse-processes. On this basis the impulsive personality types can be easily constructed.

Impulse is an animal, vital urge toward satisfaction of (biological) need.[1] Since needs of satisfaction well up constantly within the living organism it must be granted that impulses are constantly present within the organism. Without giving too much stress to the sexual impulse in this connection, Freud must be supported in the statement that the impulse-life is the "motor" of the personality. All impulse-processes are derived from the fundamental *impulses to self-preservation, self-development,* and *preservation of the species.* For the concept of an impulse toward the preservation of the species can be substituted in perfect accord with the Freudian School the concept of sex impulse.[2] The number of impulses is limited. It is in-

[1] The Freudian School differentiates ego-impulse and sex impulse which are abstractly related to the preservation of the individual and of the species. How with regard to the ego- and sex impulses the psychic life and the construction of the personality develop as considered from a psychoanalytic point of view, Schilder has shown in a consistent presentation.

[2] Cf. Bostroem.

deed impracticable to derive a particular impulse from every impulsory[3] or impulse-like occurrence or from every occurrence suggestive of the participation of impulse. As the number of the impulses is limited so are also the number of actual clear-cut *impulse-processes.* The constituents of the impulse-process[4] are the impulse and the impulsive action (impulse-action). The goal to be accomplished through the impulsive action is the *satisfaction of the impulse;* hence in form as well as in content, impulse and impulsive act must be related not only causally but also finally. The hunger impulse cannot be satisfied by the sex action, nor can the sex impulse be satisfied by the action of eating. To the sex impulse-process belong the sex impulse and the sex action; to the hunger impulse-process belong the hunger impulse and the taking of nourishment.[5] Very often impulses are not satisfied. In some way or other they become diverted from their proper goals, and processes are instituted which are not impulsive actions and cannot attain the appropriate goal. In such cases it is impossible to speak of impulsive actions or of impulse-processes. We consider it advisable to denote actions which are attached immediately to an impulse without being impulsive actions in the strict

[3] The following explanation may make clear that it is desirable to differentiate three forms or degrees in which impulses come into action or can be connected with processes of action. We call them (1) impulsive action and impulse-process (*Triebhandlung und Triebvorgang*), (2) impulsory action and impulsory process (*triebhafte Handlung und triebhafter Vorgang*), and (3) impulse-like action and impulse-like process (*triebmässige Handlung und triebmässiger Vorgang*).

[4] A discussion of the difference between reproductive and sex impulse is unnecessary here.

[5] The liaisons doubtlessly are biologically necessary for the security of the impulse.

sense, as *impulsory actions,* and the total process as an *impulsory process.*

The impulsory action represents in a certain sense a substitute; the goal accomplished thereby is from the standpoint of satisfaction of impulse a substitute goal, a substitute satisfaction. The displacement of goal which takes place in the transition from impulsive action to impulsory action is fundamental for all displacement of impulse goals, and also for the so-called sublimations. One may conceive that the impulse-process represents the shortest way from impulse to impulsive actions while the impulsory process represents a longer route. From the simple impulsory processes through the more complicated there is a long gradual transition to the voluntary process (will-process). In the will-process conscious motivation and "inner act"[6] of will occur, which in the originally unconscious impulse-processes and in the impulsory processes with their varying degrees of consciousness lead from impulse to impulse-actions or impulsory action.[7]

With regard to the impulse-process: the sex act or the taking of nourishment are impulsive actions in temporal and causo-final sequence to the impulse (hunger or sex stimulation). But what happens when the taking of nourishment or the sex act occurs without the hunger or sex impulse? Since in this case there is lacking the impulse which normally directs the process toward its goal, that is toward the satisfaction of the impulse, no satisfaction will take place. Without impulse there is possible no impulse satisfaction, but also without impulse there is possible no impulse-process. The impulse in this case must be replaced by motivation and an "inner act" of will. That which belongs to the im-

[6] Inner act = intention (set) + "fiat."

[7] Cf. Kurt Schneider: *Der triebhafte und der bewusste Mensch.*

pulse-life by matter or content becomes voluntarily rationalized. The taking of nourishment or the sex act then follows upon motivation and an "inner act of will" as volitional action recognizable only in content as pertaining to impulse: that is, a *voluntary process with an impulse-like action content.*

There is another important case, i.e., an impulse is present, to be sure, but too weak in itself to activate the total impulse-process. The process then either is omitted or is voluntarily reinforced so that a *mixture of impulse-process and will-process* occurs, which according to the participation of impulsive and voluntary components can be called a will-like[8] impulsory process, an impulse-like voluntary process, and an impulse-will-process. All three types together with the preceding are best considered—from the point of view of impulse—as *impulse-like processes.*[9]

Here should be mentioned as the last link in this chain the voluntarily activated impulse-process that is an impulse-process before which a voluntary process has been inserted. This instance is not infrequent as a result of the progressive rationalization of impulse necessitated by the development of culture with its demand for impulse control. Bostroem says: "To control the impulses does not mean to suppress them completely; practically it is of far greater significance to be able to displace them temporarily and to diminish their strength or under certain circumstances to make them serve higher ends." Finally Bostroem refers to the process in which impulse occurs as a motive in voluntary action.

The following scheme may be given:

[8] *Willensmaessig.*

[9] From the point of view of will 3 *a-d* and 4 *a* and *b* are to be termed will-like (*willensmaessige Vorgaenge*); cf. schema on p. 77.

1. impulse-processes — impulse; impulse-action

2. impulsory processes — impulse; impulsory action

3. impulse-like processes

   a. impulse-like process with touch of will — weak impulse (predominating) + motivation; inner act of will; impulse-like action + touch of will

   b. impulse-will process — (weak) impulse + motivation; inner act of will; impulse-will action

   c. will-like process — weak impulse + (predominating) motivation; inner act of will; voluntary action + trace of impulse

   d. voluntary process with impulse-like action content — motivation; inner act of will; voluntary action with impulse-like content

4. combined impulse and voluntary processes

   a. willed impulse-process — preceding voluntary process; impulse-process

   b. voluntary process motivated by impulse — impulse as a motive; inner act of will; voluntary action

These are the processes through which the impulse-life of the personality is translated into action. From the reasoning thus far it appears that *impulsive components must be assumed in all processes of striving and so in all psychic processes—because striving enters in some sense into every psychic process.* These will be the less recognizable as such on the basis of observation from without the farther removed they are from the impulse source.[10] There constantly accumulate in the personality impulses (springing primarily from the physical) which demand discharge in activity; their expression must result in impulsive, impulsory, or impulsive-like acts: the energy of the impulse is never lost. With the development of the personality[11] the impulses come increasingly under the domination of the will and thus displacement and sublimation of impulses occur.

The measure of the impulsive force of a personality is not *one* impulse but the whole impulse-life as it results from the initiation and course of all impulses within the organism. The impulse-life is usually not to be comprehended as a whole but to be judged only on the basis of single, clear, impulsive experiences of the personality. Since then the *sex impulse-life* is as a rule particularly easy to apprehend, it has become in some degree the *indicator of individual impulsive force,* i.e., of the total impulse capacity of the person. That the criterion in this connection is not simply the number of sex acts needs no substantiation: the control of its impulses is no less significant for the personality than the expression of them.[12]

To Thiele and Bostroem we owe some significant re-

[10] This separation becomes greater the more the so-called culture subjects the impulse-life to voluntary influence and control.

[11] *Sc.,* under the effect of culture. [12] Cf. Bostroem.

marks concerning *urge phenomena,* which deserve consideration here. According to Thiele urge is "a discharge tendency which is primarily entirely amorphous, lacking in goal and direction, and psychically represented as an unpleasant restlessness and tension; it (the urge) does not assume the form of an action characterized by some content till it is concerned with an object or interferes with directed intentional acts." Urge represents in the first instance a state of being charged, well termed by Thiele "amorphous." This state is, however, not entirely lacking in goal and direction, having a goal direction which though general is obvious, and this Thiele himself calls "discharge tendency." Whereas in the impulse-process in a narrower sense the impulse charge is brought directly to discharge and thus to satisfaction of the impulse by means of the appropriate impulse action, the discharge of the urge results in "processes which may be designated as urge actions." These urge actions "stand one rung lower on the ladder of actions than the impulse actions which are characterized by their immanent directedness" (Thiele). It has been seen that irrespective of their immanent directedness impulses may seek expression in impulsory and impulse-like actions (impulsory and impulse-like processes). Therefore lack of immanent directedness in an urge process does not permit its exclusion from the various manifestations of impulses. Its amorphous quality signifies the particularity of the urge process. By amorphism should be understood here that the urge is undifferentiated impulse, and that all three cardinal impulses are merged in it. In this way the very lack of immanent directedness becomes comprehensible. This conception accords with Thiele's if the latter be modified by the realization that urge actions may take place at a somewhat

deeper level than do impulse actions in the narrower sense. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the analogy between impulsory and "urgeory" processes and actions, or between impulse-like and "urge-like" processes and actions.

If a way to activity be sought and found for the urge, i.e., for the undifferentiated impulse charge, then the total urge process is brought closest to the impulsory process, occasionally to the impulse-like process. All in all it is not necessary to project urges anywhere else than into the impulse stratum. This is also Bostroem's meaning when he says that the distinction is, to be sure, theoretically correct but practically does not admit of application. It must be added that obviously many urge conditions are accentuated by one of the cardinal impulses, or by a product of the cardinal impulses (e.g., impulse to motion), and so there is indicated a relationship to the differentiated impulse conditions even though this may not be very distinct. Finally, it is to be remembered that our conception of impulse differentiation is abstract in that it has been noted that the total impulsiveness of the person stands in some sense behind every differentiated impulse. It is possible to say that the more an urge condition betrays accentuation as a result of one of the three cardinal impulses the more clearly it is related to impulsive or to impulsory processes; the less this is so the more undifferentiated is the existing state of impulse charge.

It is my impression that from this point of view, the foregoing general remarks on the subject of the impulse-life and its application to the consideration of psychopathic types from the impulse aspect, is in perfect accord with Bostroem's discussion of impulse and urge. This agreement may be stressed with regard to the significance of the sex impulse and of anxiety.

States of urge, that is states of undifferentiated impulse-charge seek discharge preferably in impulsive, or impulsory actions (impulse to motion) and sex acts (sex impulse). These states are very frequently accompanied by anxiety, which is closely related to the impulse to motion (flight impulse) and to sexuality (the seeking of the partner who promises protection). It should be pointed out that the restless tension of the state of urge is experienced as an extreme danger to self-preservation (impulse to self-preservation). In this connection the close relation to anxiety becomes easy to explain.

The conception of urge as undifferentiated "amorphous" impulse suggests an understanding of the fact that these states appear much more frequently in the child and adolescent than in the adult, the impulse-life of the former being not yet or only slightly differentiated. Understanding is suggested also for the further fact that these states are relatively more frequent in adult psychopathic personalities, who are not or not yet completely developed with respect to impulse, their impulse-life having remained on an infantile or juvenile level. A matter of especial concern with children, adolescents, and psychopaths, is the insufficient control of the impulse-life, particularly in relation to just these amorphous impulse states and their course.[13]

In the attempt to represent psychopathically impulsive personalities two things become clear from the outset: on the one hand the impossibility of giving any sharp delimitation from the norm; on the other hand the irrefutable experience that certain types by virtue

[13] Consideration should be given to Bostroem's presentations from which it appears that urge phenomena are also not to be overrated; and in which there occurs the particularly well-justified warning that they are not to be uncritically cultivated in forensic psychiatry.

of their impulse-life fall outside the pale of the norm. If we recall our conceptual reflections it becomes necessary to consider here the strength or weakness of the impulse, and, in the sense of our more recent remarks, the greater or less impulsive stress in single acts—that is exclusively *quantitative* deviations in the impulse stratum.

Glancing at the developing personality we find in the child an impulse-life of great independence which gradually becomes bridled through self-control; in other words: with the development of character there takes place a corresponding direction of the impulse-life by the character. In puberty this direction or "steering" in so far as it has been attained is called seriously into question (for periods of varying length) by processes which bring about a marked transmutation in the physical foundation of the impulse-life. Frequently the impulses, particularly the sex impulse, bring the adolescent into a state of bewilderment. Then normally a rearrangement occurs with the further development of the personality and with the accomplishment of the ultimate primacy of the character as pilot, i.e., with the accomplishment of self-control. This arrangement persists until again in connection with physical processes during the involutional period a new revolution takes place in the impulse-life; this is particularly readily observed in the female. Impulses long well controlled break through and not only make subjective difficulties for the "woman in the dangerous age," but also give her the peculiar objective stamp to which she owes the stigma of this name. Then normally the waning of the impulse-life takes place little by little, interrupted only occasionally by impulsive distortions belonging to senility, e.g., gormandizing, sexual avidity.

If a depiction of the impulsive psychopath be attempted on the basis of this general background, it is necessary to be clear first of all with reference to the developmental point of view introduced by the writings just quoted. As normal development was discussed previously, now it is necessary to consider psychopathic development. From another point of view, "psychopathic development" is to be understood as a special case belonging here, the fact of general importance being for this discussion that psychopathic peculiarities are to be explained genetically by quantitative deviation from normal development.[14] That psychopathic personalities may be defined also from a genetic point of view should be mentioned with special reference to the works of Kraepelin. It is to be expected that in the case of just those psychopaths in whom peculiarity is to be sought chiefly in impulse, our third stratum, their condition is to be traced back to irregular development. Birnbaum mentions that there is present "a disturbance of the personality development in its progress toward its natural unity as a closed system, toward harmonious arrangement and inclusion of all psychic components in the schema of the total individuality functioning as a unit." It is not to be for-

[14] It is possible to avoid a detailed discussion of the fact that insight in a quantitatively deviating development of any psychically, physically, or psychico-physically neutral characteristic or disposition is always an abstraction, a help to thought. Actually every slightest deviation always concerns the total personality or every slightest deviation has its effect on the total personality. The relatedness of special dispositions or the deviations in *one* of our three strata does not indicate that the source deviation lies in that very "locality"—if one likes to think in such mechanistic terms. Since nothing is accomplished by such deliberations as these we will merely call attention to the possibility without each time considering them at length in the text.

gotten that this disturbance affects all strata of the personality. There are nevertheless certainly personalities in whom the disturbance springs essentially from the impulse stratum; they acquire thereby a disproportion in their total construction which makes appropriate an analogy to childish and adolescent developmental levels. If in these impulsive psychopaths the impulse-life predominates in general or under special circumstances, the conclusion is nevertheless not justified that they are in possession of a very marked impulsive force absolutely considered. It is to be assumed rather that they are characterized by a disproportion in the relation between impulse and will, or between impulse and control, or between impulse and the direction by character. This disproportion *may* be—but is not necessarily—conditioned by an absolute intensity of the impulsive force.[15] In consequence of this disproportion the impulsive psychopaths yield markedly to their impulses.

It should be added here that there are psychopathic personalities in whom the quantitative deviation is in the opposite direction, that is, in whom the impulse-life is comparatively so weak that frequently impulses are initiated but never or rarely accomplish their complete course; from the purely theoretical standpoint this is not surprising in view of the foregoing discussion. These are psychopathic personalities weak in impulse.

1. *Impulsive Psychopaths*

"Catch words, like impulse and passion really serve merely to cloak the inadequacy of our knowledge," remarked L. Scholz. This is certainly the case when one is speaking of catchwords and concepts not per-

[15] The analogy to child and adolescent is obvious; with these also the question is not, or is not essentially, one of very strong impulses in the absolute sense.

fectly thought through. If a connoisseur like Kurt Schneider avoids discussion of impulsives in a group of their own, preferring to refer to them occasionally, this shows more clearly than any literary exposition on what weak foundation many groupings stand. It has partially sufficed to speak of impulsive personalities and of impulsive actions whenever the subject yields with little resistance regularly or occasionally to chance associations or to so-called impulsions (*Antrieben*)—a word that is frequently found when an author, because of well-warranted uncertainty, does not dare to write "impulses." Obvious as impulsive components enter into all such actions, it is quite as unjustifiable to immediately deduce that such acts belong in the chapter of psychopathic impulsiveness, or among actions that are essentially and primarily conditioned by impulse. If adherence be granted to the foregoing conceptual considerations it becomes necessary to realize that real impulsive actions even here may not be very frequent.

The spendthrift, the wanderer, and the dipsomaniac, Kraepelin described as "impulsive personalities" (*Triebmenschen*). Incendiaries, adolescent murderesses of children, poison mixers, writers of anonymous letters, "kleptomaniacs," buying maniacs, and chronic debtors, he had grouped under the heading "impulsive insanity" (*impulsives Irresein*). He himself called this separation artificial and thought that the actions of impulsive insanity "already in their direction indicate pathological deviation of the impulse-life, while in the case of impulsives they may be derived principally from general life-wishes which would otherwise have been controlled by an intelligent willing."

Of all the types[16] just mentioned it is possible to

[16] Sexual psychopaths will be discussed separately.

grant (in accord with our position) only in wanderers the existence of true impulsive actions. Kraepelin used here the simile of the animal with an unbridled urge to freedom, and this may be taken as a starting point for our discussion. The impulse to motion is doubtless an impulse in the true sense of the word; it stands in close relation to self-preservation (flight and seeking of food), to self-development (development, practice), and to preservation of the species, or to the sex impulse (seeking of a sex partner). Herein lies furthermore the complexity of these situations which appear so simple. Whenever an obscure urge discharges itself directly in motion, impulsive actions and impulse-processes may be assumed. This state of affairs is certainly not to be found in all psychopathic wanderers. Care is especially to be recommended whenever "poriomanic" conditions are found regularly combined with depression. In so far as epileptic processes or processes related to epileptic diseases do not come into question here, it is certainly often restless depressives with whom we are dealing; to this fact Kurt Schneider has called attention.[17] The group of psychopathically impulsive wanderers is not very inclusive. Many cases could be included in it which have long been termed affective epileptics[18] (Bratz, Leubuscher). These wanderers at present pass for "unstable" or under some different label whenever the vagrancy, which is fundamentally conditioned by impulse, is erroneously ex-

[17] It cannot and should not be disputed that in epileptics and in depressive wanderers impulsive or impulsory components are present. They are not, however, on this account impulsive psychopaths. That in impulsive psychopaths occasionally depressions can occur is not a matter for surprise.

[18] The epileptoids and their relationship to the impulsives will be discussed in another place.

plained as rational. The attitude of these persons to their restlessness depends on their general make-up:[19] it is possible to say that many of them especially in their earlier years delight in their globe-trotting. Later with the quieting down of the total impulse-life or with the entering in of a certain symmetry in the development of the personality there appears a tendency to establish residency even though occasionally only to a limited degree. This takes place as long as those persons do not fall victim to alcoholism or to some habit-forming drug and thus become permanently incapacitated for social adjustment. Following Kraepelinian precedent it is possible without sharp definition to distinguish the "instability, the tendency to aimless wandering" and the "unquenchable urge to get out into the world" as permanent personal characteristics. Relations to a normal *Wanderlust* especially in adolescents are not to be forgotten. Starting with impulse-conditioned running away[20] (*Abschieben*) in children, there is a gradual transition through the loafing of children and adolescents, so far as this occurs as the expression of impulse, to impulsive wandering. Not all running away and not all wandering in psychopaths is conditioned by impulse only; very often motives can be detected even in those cases which at first stubbornly repudiate every rational explanation. Gruhle stressed the fact that one should not speak of the impulse to wander in such personalities "as play truant and loaf in response to every unpleasant experience, every disagreeable happening (punishment in school, etc.)."

[19] In relation to temperament, character, and intellect.

[20] Stier called attention to families of wanderers. Birnbaum reports a feeble-minded wanderer who said revealingly about his running away: *"Da ist nicht Kopf drin, da ist nur Fuss drin* there is no head in it but only feet").

If we see more male than female wanderers this is essentially because this manifestation of the impulse to motion means little in the psychic life of the woman. A contributing factor is, to be sure, the external circumstance that for the single woman—and the impulsive wanders almost always singly—vagrancy is made very much more difficult than for the single man. At all events some feminine representatives of this group may be found among the prostitutes. Prostitution in the first place claims a large number of the girls who are uprooted; furthermore it is seldom possible subsequently to recognize real feminine vagrants who have become prostitutes and then apparently, because of external circumstances, have no longer any anchorage. Analogous situations occasionally result in the inclusion of real impulsive vagrants in other groups, for example, in a group with the "unstable" because the primary condition of the vagrancy has been concealed by a secondary rationalistic superstructure or else by other factors such as drug addiction, or decline into criminality with its consequences.[21]

In comprehending as impulsive wanderers in the true sense such psychopathic personalities as those in whom the impulse to wander, with the resultant impulsive wandering, can be regarded as a true impulse-process we do not conceal from ourselves the fact that there are all kinds of transitional stages between the clear-cut cases and such personalities as those in whom the original impulse to motion or vagrancy is not satisfied in the wandering but instead seeks relief through displacement of the impulse goal in impulsory or im-

[21] Wilmanns' schizophrenic tramps (*Landstreicher*) should not remain unmentioned although as psychotic they are not to be ranked here. It is certainly possible to find one or another schizophrenic defect among our "phenotypically" psychopathic wanderers.

pulse-like actions. These latter are not wanderers. On the other hand, there are many cases in which running away or wandering is essentially or entirely motivated: in such cases we are not dealing with impulsive actions and so not with impulsives in the true sense of the word. Even more important seems the analogous situation in types to be mentioned later.

Spendthrifts and dipsomaniacs[22] do not represent unified groups. So far as their impulse-life may be primarily of the greater importance, their spendthrift behavior and periodic drunkenness are just as little true impulsive behavior as are pyromania, infanticide, poisoning, writing of anonymous letters, stealing, accumulation of purchases, and debts, in the so-called "impulsive insanity." In a portion of these cases—certainly not in all who are reckoned among them—impulsory and impulse-like processes are to be assumed. Such processes are an indication that the impulse-life has not run its course smoothly, and that instead manifold distractions from the impulse goals have occurred. If, for example, an impulsively unsymmetrical psychopath[23] finds that he is able to drown his vague inner discomfort and his impulsive restlessness in alcohol he will acquire the habit easily. Such dipsomanic behavior may well be *impulsory* but it is not impulsive behavior; similarly with regard to the remaining so-called impulsive actions or types already mentioned. Apparently with many impulsives, impulse-conditioned restlessness ("states of urge!") of the kind that urges to discharge may lead to *impulsory* actions, for reasons

[22] A very considerable number of dipsomaniacs have vacillations of mood; many of these may either belong or be related to the manic depressive cycle.

[23] That is, a psychopath in whom in the way already mentioned there exists a faulty relationship between impulse and will.

which are sometimes chance, sometimes psychologically explicable. As was shown at the outset it is impossible to derive therefrom many kinds of impulsive actions. Rather the ultimate conclusion is to be drawn that there are psychopathic personalities whose impulse-life is not symmetrically developed and who may stand near to the impulsives in the narrowest sense of the word. Such personalities yield in an "impulsory" manner completely to their whims or (with a certain habit) to specific whims without much deliberation, and often without clear motivation. With reference to such cases in normal psychology one uses occasionally the terms thoughtlessness, and lack of deliberation. Relationships to hyperthymic personality are certainly present. We consider it erroneous with reference to psychopaths to speak of incendiary, murderous, poisoning, etc., impulses. We do not forget, however, that much of this behavior, especially incendiarism[24] and murder in adolescence, contains very essential impulsive components. Relatively the most frequent in such cases together with impulsory actions are probably willed actions motivated by impulse.[25]

[24] Fires set by adolescent incendiaries correspond to the playful fire-lighting of children who delight in the flames. In such cases there is no question of an "incendiary impulse." It is also a mistake to designate as impulsive action an arson resulting from homesickness. Arson is motivated by homesickness which at all events contains within itself impulsive components. In the case of an adolescent girl mentioned by Kraepelin who murdered several of the infants intrusted to her by boring a needle through their brains, the situation was exactly corresponding: the behavior was entirely motivated and the impulse-life of the murderess who has married in the meantime was in no way particularly striking.

[25] We would not be calling attention to this fact with such persistence were it not demanded by the multitudinous vaguenesses in psychiatric literature concerning impulses and impulsive actions. Per-

Thus it may be well not to rank here most of the types designated by Kraepelin and others as *Triebmenschen* and impulsives, but instead to mention them again and to describe them elsewhere. It will be necessary to consider especially in another connection the poison mixers and the writers of anonymous letters.

Here it is desirable to consider the personalities which with varying recognition were listed under the appropriate heading as kleptomaniacs. First the question must be asked: Is there such a thing as an "impulse to steal"? How the animal, in the expression of its impulse to approach and incorporate brings things within its reach and incorporates them, has been observed; the completely analogous process has been observed in human infants and small children. This indicates that the behavior involved in drawing things to the self (we may not say "appropriation") and incorporating them occurs as impulsive behavior in the case of the animal as well as in the earlier stages of human development.[26] If one shares the opinion of Kraepelin and other authors—entirely plausible in view of our recent knowledge—that psychopathic deviations are to be understood as inhibitions of development, the idea may arise that in many personalities an "impulse to steal" occurs as an infantile inhibition of development. It is obvious that impulses in the sense of drawing to the self and incorporation are not foreign to the human personality in any state of its development, and are carried through to impulsive behavior in the sexual act and in the taking of nourishment. But drawing to the self and incorporation do not mean

haps even yet the fact is too often and too easily ignored that not all behavior is without motive, for which the perpetrator gives no motive or refuses to give a motive.

[26] We cannot discuss here the significance of instinct.

stealing. Entirely apart from *dolus,* theft signifies the appropriation of something with regard to which it is *known* that it is owned by another. To theft belongs then a consciousness of the personal ego and of the existence of foreign egos. Animals and infants, or small children, lacking consciousness of their own and foreign personalities, cannot consciously interfere in the sphere of another's rights.[27] So-called kleptomaniacs in so far as they are psychopathic[28] never lack this consciousness although they often attempt to disavow or to suppress it: their thefts for exactly this reason cannot be impulsive actions because there is no such thing as an "impulse to steal." It is possible to say: In so far as psychopaths are concerned, their thefts are not impulsive actions; in so far as demonstrable impulsive actions are present there are no thefts, the perpetrators in the latter case being as a rule not psychopaths.[29]

Nevertheless there is a psychic attitude which appears to stand in particular relationship to impulse-life on the one hand and to appropriation on the other: namely *covetousness.* Wishing and coveting are strivings which as such contain impulsive components, but which in themselves come nearer to willing. According to Bostroem they can exist in isolated form or take effect as motivation in the preparation for an act of

[27] Similarly neither idiots nor patients with an organic dementia "steal": the corresponding actions in them are impulsive actions. It is by this time clear that the word "appropriate" was avoided above because only a personality, an ego, is capable of appropriation.

[28] Disturbances of consciousness in which the consciousness of the ego is lost, of course do not come into consideration in this connection.

[29] Kraepelin writes characteristically: "A satisfactory separation of the morbid impulse to steal from other forms of habitual stealing is difficult of accomplishment."

will. The latter is the case (considered from our standpoint) in a great number of personalities which are occasionally termed "kleptomaniac" psychopaths: persons in whom covetousness is particularly marked. It is indeed rather a matter of women than of men since in the woman covetousness is generally greater than in the man. Frequently in the woman covetousness is intensified in relation to the specific exceptional conditions of the female body, menstruation, pregnancy, lactation, menopause, and, in addition, puberty. One cannot but think that it is the effect of the altered physical condition on the impulse-life as the basis of all processes of striving, which on the one hand increases the covetousness and on the other hand weakens or obliterates the normally operating opposing conceptions and voluntary restraints. The thefts which are then perpetrated are, however, in the true sense neither impulsive nor impulsory actions, for the corresponding processes are not composed of impulse and impulsive action or of impulse and impulsory action, but contain covetousness as motivation to which is attached an act of will. These thefts come closest to the impulse-like processes in our schema. Here belong many shoplifters[30] with whom certainly there is no question of impulsive actions.[31] In the broader sense also these examples of covetousness are not impulsive psychopaths but rather psychopathic personalities of diverse structure.

Of another type of psychopathic thieves, Zingerle has described a particularly interesting example in which

[30] Birnbaum says concerning the shoplifting practiced during the processes of pregnancy and menstruation that it occurs "as a result of episodically heightened submissiveness to dangerous outer stimuli."

[31] The professional pickpocket is informed as to the situation concerned, and that he attempts to make capital of his knowledge is an observation made by every experienced expert for the court.

the sex impulse expresses itself (through displacement of impulse goal) in actions of stealing; opportunity for stealing is sought in sexual excitement and in the accomplishment of the action of stealing, orgasm is attained. Here the impulse is diverted from the impulse goal: an impulsory action occurs which—though of course not in all cases—leads to a substitute sexual satisfaction. Such cases having strongly emphasized impulse-life, as in Zingerle's example, may well be related to the impulsives, as *impulsory* thieves, but without making them essentially comparable to the true impulsive wanderers. Between them and the covetous there are obviously transitions. The action of theft is not necessarily conjoined with an orgasm in impulsory thieves; it can lead to a satisfaction or realization which is not immediately sexual in nature though signifying in a broad sense a "pleasure gain." Furthermore the connection of such impulsory thefts with the sex impulse may be a very loose one.[32] The "pleasure gain" exists occasionally in a sporting joy in stealing. Such thieves again are to be grouped with the covetous; they can raise the sport of stealing to astonishing heights, and invent many criminologically interesting manipulations. Sexual tone is not at all foreign to stealing in the covetous.[33] As a third group, the *fetish*

[32] It is not to be disputed that there are "symbolic thefts" (*Kielholz*) in which an indirect connection can be demonstrated or probably assumed with sexuality or with lack of sexual satisfaction, with sexual envy, or with jealousy. The "symbolic theft" intends an injury to the person who is robbed; from the angle of depth-psychology this injury may be directed against the sexuality of the person who is robbed. The symbolism of much primitive behavior will come to mind here which pertains to the "manhood" of the enemy (among the Indians: taking the "Medicine").

[33] Here belongs, from the point of view of impulsory stealing, a case repeatedly cited by Kraepelin. A lascivious hysterical Lesbian

thieves remain to be mentioned. Whereas with the covetous a part is played by impulsive inclusions of a sexual nature, and whereas with the impulsory frequently a sexual emphasis is laid on the action of stealing, the fetish theft is to a certain extent preparatory behavior to a fetishistic sexual act. The theft of the sexual object is a grotesque parallel to courtship. It will be necessary to return in the next chapter to the fetish thieves; here it need be said only that they stand in close relationship to the covetous and to the impulsory thieves.

Whereas with the impulsory thieves the emphasis is generally on the act of stealing, with the possession of the booty largely subordinated and in rare cases playing no rôle at all—with the covetous and the fetish thieves, the chief concern is the possession of stolen goods. In some cases whole storerooms of stolen goods have been found. Is one to assume in such instances and in the case of others who collect in a legitimate way the existence of an "impulse to collect"? Is one to label certain misers for example as "psychopathically impulsive collectors"? Whether greed for money be regarded as "a variety of the impulse to nourishment" as with Bostroem, or whether with Freud there be sought anal erotic roots, only one side of the origin of avarice has been touched upon; but in this it has never been demonstrated that the impulsive attitude forms either the complete or the major basis for avarice. It is not to be forgotten that insecurity and the will to power are so significant in the construction of the personality of the avaricious in particular, and of psychopathic collectors in general that a ranking of

desiring prestige had developed stealing into a sport from the time she was eleven years old because of covetousness and delight in the forbidden.

these types as impulsives according to our conception would not be justified.

We limit considerably the range of impulsive psychopaths. We have tried to work from the concept of impulse to the impulsive psychopaths, whereas other writers, starting with a group of psychopaths, occasionally make deductions concerning impulses and impulsiveness. It has certainly become clear that we do not mistake the fundamental importance for the personality of the impulse stratum or of the impulse-life. It is also clear, however, that in psychopaths one finds frequent single examples of impulsory actions[34] of the most diverse kinds. It seems essential nevertheless to include in the group of impulsives only those in whom impulse or impulsory processes, because of intensity and frequency, allow the deduction of a psychopathic peculiarity in the impulse-life or of a particular significance of the impulse stratum giving a psychopathic stamp to the personality. From other standpoints it seems to me that one arrives only at confused concepts, and may even come to consider psychopathic personality from the standpoint of its impulse-life exclusively. Psychoanalysis does this with good right from its own standpoint as one among other psychological approaches. We should believe that we had misunderstood our own task were we to wish to find in every "neurotic" an impulsive psychopath—to use a somewhat extreme expression.

Since the impulse-life is fundamentally rooted in the physical it is necessary to ask whether any physical peculiarities are to be detected in the psychopathic types here considered as impulsive. In view of the

[34] All actions which have been listed as impulsive or as associated with the so-called impulsive insanity can appear as impulsory, but only some of them as impulsive acts.

analogy to puberty the idea may perhaps suggest itself that there may be present physical stigmata of incomplete development. This certainly occurs—but it occurs also in many other psychopathic types and we have no support for the contention that it is more frequent among impulsives than among other psychopaths. Endocrine stigmata in particular, which are in any way characteristic, cannot be demonstrated, in the present state of our knowledge. It appears impossible also, to say that in cases of demonstrable endocrine disturbance there is regularly manifest this or that sort of peculiarity in the sense of impulsive behavior according to our definitions. In brief: for the present sufficient foundation is lacking for the assertion of affinities or correlations between impulsive psychopathy and particular physical manifestations.

In the consideration of impulsive psychopaths we started out from single impulses and in the course of our discussion have not yet arrived at a statement as to whether there may be also personality types which appear psychopathic on the basis of a markedly increased wealth of impulse. It is necessary to presuppose not that the coming to the fore of a particular impulse, is to be ascribed only to an isolated increase of this impulse but rather that from an increase of the total impulse-life, be it lasting or more or less transitory, a single impulse may become in a sense the valve through which a too great impulse pressure may be relieved. The interrelationship of the impulses renders comprehensible also the displacement of single impulses or the displacement of expressions of impulse. Certainly this is true for the sex impulse likewise which in its great significance for the total personality frequently if not always plays a special rôle. It is precisely with regard to the sex life that there are

personalities in which there seems to be present an increased wealth of impulse; they will have to be mentioned with the sexual psychopaths. In general, wealth of impulse even if it seems excessive appears to be a sign of health and not of psychopathy. Furthermore it is not to be forgotten that the impulsive peculiarities of psychopathic personalities in general result, not from an increased wealth of impulse, but rather from a lack of voluntary direction of the impulse-life: the impulsive force in this connection is not to be regarded as absolutely but merely as relatively increased.

Here should be mentioned also the impulsive peculiarities in hypomanic and depressive temperaments. In brief: frequently though not invariably the former show increases; the latter, decreases, in the expression of their impulses. They will be discussed in another connection. The quantitative variation of the impulse-life or of its expression, the so-called "impulsiveness" of the hypomanic for example, is not to be ascribed directly to an increased wealth of impulse but instead is to be explained usually on the basis of variations of mood and quantitative variations in the course of ideas. Still it is not to be disputed that the increased bio-tonus may not be without influence on the impulse-life.

2. *Psychopaths Weak in Impulse*

Attention has been called already to the existence of psychopaths "weak in impulse." A lowered vitality resulting from weakness in impulse is not unusual and we observe it in many connections, the gradual decline in wealth of impulse in aging persons being of especial significance. It should not remain unmentioned that involutional processes especially noteworthy in the endocrine apparatus play a part here.

In asserting the existence of psychopaths weak in impulse it becomes necessary to define the cardinal question: Is there a psychopathy based on weakness in impulse? I take this to be the case. What we have in mind is not, as the individual psychologist might conceive, that many personalities regard their impulsiveness, especially if it be weak, as a sort of organ inferiority. Instead we are considering the fact of psychopathic behavior springing directly from weakness in impulse. This is the differentiating factor in many physically asthenic, especially infantile asthenic[35] personalities, but apparently not in these alone. Hereby it is not presupposed that the asthenic personality is fundamentally weak in impulse, but nevertheless the fact is inescapable that there are asthenics whose total construction rests unmistakably on the basis of a weakness in the impulse-life resulting obviously from their asthenic corporeality. It seems to me that these in contrast to the sensitive asthenic, for example, are often the less complicated personalities who, as a result of weakness in impulse, are exhausted by every intense emotion and by energetic striving—who are, so to speak, lacking in vitality. They earn usually a very meager livelihood unless opportunity be offered them through favorable economic conditions—which they usually cannot manage themselves—to live a comfortable parasitic life. They are generally not adapted to an independent social position of their own. Many of them give the impression of weakness of will, slight dulness, or nervousness. An inferior intellectual endowment may frequently be determinative in their clinical diagnosis and classification. Here and there they find subordinate positions, become day laborers,

[35] Undoubtedly there exist relationships to hypogenitalism (defective development of sex organs).

helpers, and may even become criminals, because of their particular tendency to be led. Many of them although they are not at all afraid of work are found among those without income on the public employment records. I believe that I have repeatedly seen such high-grade moronic psychopaths weak in impulse, among those who become invalids particularly early because they have exhausted their small capital of vitality. In such cases the desire for an "insurance bounty" together with the production of hysterical symptoms can easily blur the picture of the personality.

I should like with all caution to put forward the suggestion that some physically infantile and eunuchoid personalities may be related to these weaklings in impulse. Nevertheless it seems to be impossible on the basis of individual observations to make statements concerning psychophysical relationships—e.g., in the sense that fundamentally eunuchoid physical stigmata are necessarily found accompanied by weakness in impulse. But that a relationship between dulness and lack of initiative can be demonstrated in some eunuchoids and in many weaklings in impulse should not however remain unmentioned.[36]

Since complete development of the impulse-life belongs preëminently to the picture of the mature personality the conception arises that the difficulty in the case of those weak in impulse may be due to general inhibitions in the personality development. This conception is supported on the physical side by the observation that among these weaklings in impulse are to be

[36] Reference may be made to certain torpid feeble-minded; though they may often be weak in impulse, they are usually considered from the angle of their intellectual inferiority which appears more striking.

found persons of evident physical inferiority. This brings to mind the fact that with dwarfs of endocrine origin the impulse-life is generally weak, that in them asexuality frequently exists accompanying insufficient development of the sex organs.

It is obvious that a general weakness in impulse such as is to be understood in the psychopathic types to which we are referring will express itself particularly in the sphere of sex. Many of these weaklings in impulse are, practically speaking, asexual or have very slight sexual needs. Often as a result of their weakness in the sex impulse they are characterized by a striking uncertainty as to the sex goal, which may even lead to sexual derailment. There may also be a peculiar fitness to become hangers-on which is not infrequently increased by an intellectual inferiority. Personalities of this class are frequently to be found among the prostitutes.

Those personalities weak in impulse to whom this explanation applies are, as already noted, personalities of comparatively simple construction. Those weaklings in impulse who have a complicated construction will be discussed later. It should be mentioned here, however, that there exist gifted weaklings in impulse, some of them of striking psychic activity seeming to give the lie to their weakness. The experience of their own inferiority (inferiority complex) in an overcompensatory form occasionally comes into prominence in such persons. Here may be ranked some ascetics who with regard to their impulsive inferiority make a virtue of necessity.

Apart from this and another implication, there has been discussed in this chapter with regard to certain psychopathic personalities, not the final but merely the causal significance in the psychic strata of personality,

of the layer next above the physical—springing immediately from the physique. Thus the impulse-life of which the general direction, purpose, and goal are toward satisfaction of need, has been evaluated from one side only. Its final place within the personality will repeatedly occupy us chiefly in the description of psychopathic personalities.

3. *Sexual Psychopaths*

A. CONCERNING SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

The impulse to self-development has been mentioned as one of the three cardinal impulses. It is assumed that there may be observed in every individual a developmental curve[37] of the impulse-life under the special direction of this impulse. This curve was the subject of discussion in the preceding chapter without the use of the expression. It proceeds gradually by an easy ascent, with the exception of a somewhat steeper rise during puberty, to its peak at the prime of life, and in general thenceforth it falls off little by little. In the descending portion of the curve there occurs usually at the involutional period, in analogy to the rise at puberty, a fall, more or less sharp, which is more prominent in the female and less often obvious in the male. The impulsive crisis of puberty occurs in a personality not yet established; involution disturbs the impulse-life of the individual in the transitional state from maturity to the period of decline. At puberty as during involution—the physical sexual apparatus and the sexual impulse-life are especially concerned. It is

[37] Hoffmann has made remarks concerning "the individual developmental curve" to which the remarks explained here do not correspond although frequently running parallel to them. Cf. also Storch's important works concerning the concept of development in psychopathology.

a statement of fact to say that the development of the sexual impulse or the developmental curve of this impulse corresponds to the developmental curve of the total personality,[38] itself essentially determined by the impulse to self-development.

Just as the sexual development is not suddenly broken off at the involutional period, so it does not begin suddenly with the onset of puberty. We are far from ascribing to the infant a polymorphically perverse sexuality in Freud's sense, and—if the standpoint of psychoanalysis may be exaggerated for the moment—we are therefore far from seeing in the further development, an increasing simplification of the sex impulse and of the sex life.[39] We believe, however, that it is not permissible to reject the assertion that even in the infant the sexual side of the impulse-life comes into play—to say nothing of making this assertion ridiculous. To be sure we do not imagine that the satisfied infant falling asleep on its mother's breast presents an exact analogy to the adult falling asleep relaxed and satisfied after the completion of a sexual act. We cannot escape the fact, however, that into the undifferentiated impulse-life of the infant and into its pleasure-satisfaction there enters more than the components

[38] This is not true to the same degree in the development of the impulse to self-preservation. The unconcerned innocent playing with danger in the child is recalled as well as the stubborn desire to live in the aged.

[39] Satisfaction of impulse gives pleasure, this pleasure is not the purpose of the impulse-process but its stimulation. The purpose of the impulse-process is the satisfaction of biological needs. Pleasure is not attained exclusively through satisfaction of impulse, that is not exclusively through the course of an impulse-process. Nevertheless every process which leads to the attainment of pleasure may be traced back into the impulse stratum. That is one of Freud's greatest bits of insight.

of the impulse to self-preservation; we would like to believe that the pleasure of satiation represents here the expression of the abreaction of a tension of the total impulse-life, that is of undifferentiated impulse-life. On the other hand one has to assume that the discharge of the sexual tension in the adult does not mean an isolated discharge of the sexual tension, but includes the equalization of general tension in the impulse sphere. For the impulse to self-preservation is not expressed solely in the need for nourishment; and certainly it does not find its sole release in the acquisition of nourishment. Similarly the impulse to self-development does not cease at the moment in which the sex impulse attains an actual satisfaction. Ultimately the sex impulse-life includes more than the actual tensions and discharges of the processes which are associated mediately or immediately with the attainment of the orgasm. In other words it is an abstraction to isolate single impulses. Actually the cardinal impulses are intimately bound up in the impulse-life although one or another impulse dominates in the course of an individual impulse.

With the adolescent the sex impulse-life signifies something different in the total construction of the personality from that of the adult, and is again different for him whose life curve is on the decline. *Mutatis mutandis,* the same is true for the impulses of self-development and self-preservation. By way of exemplification attention may be called to the varying interest which eating and the processes of digestion have normally for the persons of varying ages. The aging individual—ultimately for reasons rooted in impulse—devotes more time, attention, and effort, to the choice and consumption of his food, to its utilization, and especially to defecation, than the person in the earlier

phases of life. There *take place within the totality of the impulse-life,* so to speak, *displacements of emphasis.* The totality of impulse tension, which is biologically necessary, shows, in the varying ages of life, a different quantitative composition. Nevertheless none of the three cardinal impulses is lacking, although, for example, in the aged who have arrived at an almost completely vegetative existence, sexual impulsive tension normally retires far into the background and the impulse to self-development decreases.

We would like to say that in the infant sexuality is not present in the sense that it is immediately capable in a "polymorphously perverse" manner of every type of sexual pleasure tension, and sexual experience. But the sex life exists in it potentially in such a way that *cum grano salis* anything may develop. A first unmistakable appearance of the sex impulse-life takes place during the third and fourth years of life[40] (Freud, Charlotte Bühler), when masturbatory behavior is not infrequent, and there is to be observed an entirely unmistakable heightening of "sensual" tenderness.[41] Another striking appearance of sex impulse-life occurs with puberty out of which the condition of maturity develops. It is at this time that the child-parent fixation

[40] This period will be called the early phase or early notch in the developmental curve.

[41] Transitions to the pathological or psychopathic cannot be clearly distinguished: excessive masturbation in childhood, intense sexual curiosity, the seeking of a sexual object, mutual masturbation, attempts at coitus, all occur. It is certainly not always or even principally because of the strength of the precocious sex impulse if these practices persist once they are taken up. Environmental factors are here influential to a great extent which in the broadest sense are of such a nature as to drive the child into the sexual rather than to divert him from it (wretched living conditions, severe pedagogical standards, bad examples, etc.).

is not only frequently intensified but also may acquire an erotic tone.

As deviation in the psychopathic sense may be accounted such intensification and chronological lengthening in the sexual sphere as may occur in the early years and in puberty as well as in the involutional phase, particularly during the climacteric in the female. In addition there are the cases of chronological displacement: sexual precocity, the not infrequent late sexual maturity which is of no less significance for the personality, and the premature onset of physical and psychic sexual decline. Although endocrine changes are frequently demonstrable this does not mean the removal of the cases concerned from the compass of the present consideration of the psychopathic. Instead these changes merely again indicate with particular force the intimate connection of psychic manifestations and developments with physical bases.

These intensifications, protractions, and displacements, in the early, pubertal, and involutional phases, which appear as psychopathic, reach over in gradual transition into the corresponding courses which are to be regarded as normal. First of all a particularly emphatic warning is to be given against the all-too-loose employment of terms like "sickly," or "sick," in this realm. Precisely here an equalization may take place even though late. Similarly the prognosis is not to be made on the basis of a striking persistence of the earlier phase that the individual will inevitably become a "libertine." In the case of many sexually precocious adolescents also the high surge of sexuality often enough subsides. Adolescent girls charged with sex impulse, among whom hypomanic temperaments frequently appear to occur, are not predestined from the start to prostitution even though they may fall tem-

porarily into a serious derailment. Many a case in which the sexual development is completed after marked retardation later attains, nevertheless, a balanced normal sexual development. There is much to say for the view that many psychopathic manifestations, which first come to a certain equalization in the fourth decade, may be traced back precisely to retarded accomplishment of the final sexual maturity, which is not attained either with the capacity for erection or with the entrance upon sexual intercourse. That this equalization is sometimes incomplete is not surprising: it would be difficult to imagine that a puberal process of a duration of ten or more years should leave no mark on the individual. Even normally a person needs a certain time to recover from the storms of puberty before he has found himself in his altered situation. To be more concrete in a connection which I believe to be particularly important: it is not a matter of indifference whether there are completed within the period of normal puberty the phases of hero-worship, of bashfulness, of "fear of the woman," of dread of final sexual enlightenment (often unconfessed but nevertheless not infrequently present); or whether these attitudes and experiences still handicap a person who has grown far beyond the age of physiological puberty in his other psychic conditions, his life experience, his vocational and social wishes and goals, and perhaps at least partially his success. The "protraction of puberty"—certainly with the important aid of feelings of inferiority and the formations and reactions springing from it—must burden heavily a personality which chronologically and in many other respects no longer belongs in the puberal period. Here is a possible source of character development from the impulse-life, which will occupy attention later. That *vice versa* the mani-

festations of premature climacteric may have a corresponding effect is evident in consideration of the disastrous production of psychopathic phenomena which may be caused by even an involutional period occurring at the proper time.

It seems to me correct to use here the terms infantile, puberal, climacteric, and senile psychopathy.[42] It may be well to express also the relationship of these psychopathic manifestations to the sexual impulse-life and to say, for example, infantile, etc., sexual psychopathic manifestations. We will discuss later psychological and especially characterological formations and superstructures, the entrance of which into the "diagnostic" classification, or better, into the characterization of the personality type, is to be expressed. In another place attention will be given to the significance of these frequently phasically occurring psychopathic manifestations, with reference to their course. Here it should be noted that the psychopathic deviations in sexual development already discussed are to be brought into genetic relation essentially with *Anlagen*. Important as are environmental factors for the development of sexuality, support is lacking for the opinion that environmental influence is regularly responsible for the diversion of the individual from the normal course of sexual development and the concurrent psychical effects. These remarks apply also to the sexual perversions to be considered later.

One may ask what the psychopathic manifestations of puberty, the climacterium, etc., have to do with a chapter devoted to sexual psychopaths. From our standpoint they could be discussed as well in the sec-

[42] In the same sense may be used the terms psychopathic manifestations in infancy (childhood), puberty, involution (climacteric), senility.

tion devoted to the impulsives, with whom in the very nature of things they are most intimately related. What justifies their discussion here is in part the prominence of the sexual impulse-life itself which has been given frequent stress in the preceding pages. Furthermore the matter of impulse development (in which the processes of early childhood, puberty, and the climacteric represent, as it were, milestones) seems particularly appropriate as an introduction to the diverse varieties of sexual psychopathy. In addition it should be noted that sexually psychopathic deviation, whether transitory or lasting, is frequently associated in time and thus causally, with the course of the developmental notches in childhood, in puberty, and in the involutional period, and with the processes of decline in old age.

Nevertheless, before attention is given to psychopathic deviations from the sexual object and from the sexual goal, certain quantitative deviations in the sexual impulse-life, which are suggested in the foregoing, must be discussed somewhat in detail.

In the sphere of the sexual life our general remarks concerning wealth of impulse are entirely valid; the same is the case with our reiterated reference to the fact that here there are no sharp boundaries but only gradual transitions. It must be conceded that a certain excess of sexual eagerness and sexual activity is no more to be excluded from the range of the normal than a certain modesty in sexual demands and accomplishment. Here habits and voluntary control (character factors) set many limits and so conceal peculiarities, which in the absence of the corresponding superstructure would reach over into the abnormal. There are nevertheless sexual types in whom the character apparatus though otherwise capable of giving good direction shows itself inadequate to the existing appetite or

in whom the appetite may even hypertrophy if the character direction is insufficient. At the opposite pole are sexual weaklings whose impulsive insufficiency exists in a shy and concealed manner not infrequently beneath the cover of "anxiety neurosis" or overcompensatory mechanisms of the most diverse kinds. For certain hyperhedonistic types the terms *satyriasis* and *nymphomania* have been employed; it is generally a question of personalities whose life is dominated very early and often far beyond the involutional stage by the sex impulse and its direct satisfaction. It goes without saying that not all those whose concupiscence is persistently active belong here, but rather those individuals whose constant lust keeps pace with their sexual capacity and activity. It is well known that this is the favorite sphere for boasting. Nevertheless there are "erotics," as these personalities occasionally like to call themselves, who because of the intense heightening of their sex impulse understand and live their lives from the point of view of sexuality only, partially as brutal sexual dare-devils, partially as psychologically not undifferentiated Don Juan types[43] and "ladies' men." The corresponding types appear among women; intimations and more than intimations of perverse

[43] It is, to say the least, questionable whether those types are to be regarded fundamentally in the sense of the psychoanalytic school as homosexual which in flight from the woman hasten from one sexual experience to another. It is certainly also a one-sided fabrication to regard a habitué of the brothel as fundamentally homosexual and to bring the establishment of houses of prostitution into causal relationship with homosexuality. It is to be granted, however, that homosexual components prevent many men from establishing a deeper and more lasting companionship with a woman, and that homosexual components prevent many inveterate bachelors from entering into marriage, who in their whole life have performed no homosexual act. This is true not only for the man but also for the woman.

tendencies not infrequently accompany the sexuality of such "Don Juans" and "Messalinas."

The more normally the sexual development and the more normally the sexual life proceeds the less time it demands and the less it attracts the conscious attention of the personality. The healthy sex life enters harmoniously as a whole into the totality of the personality. The sex life is a highly significant factor in the construction and formation of the personality. It is always prominent in the "motor" of its total impulse-life but normally it acts somewhat as a matter of course, and neither in its excitation nor in its satisfaction leads to exaggerations and distortions. The situation becomes different at once when the sexual development is marked by irregularity, and particularly when the ultimate formation of the sex impulse-life is not well proportioned. There arise physical and psychic difficulties and conflicts which increase the conscious concentration of the personality on its sexuality; this concentration may become extreme as has been noted with reference to the hyperhedonistic. Then not infrequently repressions occur which can lead just as well to "neurotic" complications as to sublimations. The occurrence of sublimations in opposition to the orthodox Freudian theory is frequently, though of course not always, completely conscious.

However one may conceive of sexual development in its details it is impossible to doubt the necessity of being able to give a developmental explanation of sexuality in the adult. The physical sexual development is readily enough traceable, and the psychosexual development generally corresponds. It is not to be rehearsed here. Granted the existence of physical and psychic manifestations that must be regarded as inhibitions in development, it becomes impossible to deny

their existence also in the sphere of sex. In considering and evaluating inhibitions of development the fact should be constantly borne in mind that whether the condition or function in question takes its appropriate position in the chronological development of the individual, or whether it becomes an anachronism in the particular stage of the total development, are two entirely different things. Physically and psychically the effect is very different whether for example the penis of the small child has not yet acquired the capacity of erection or whether this capacity is still lacking in a person who has chronologically passed the age of puberty. The case is similar with all manifestations which in the corresponding connections are occasionally designated as infantilisms. The older person, as a total personality and as a "sexual being," has to deal with inhibitions in the development of his sexuality with quite another attitude than has the small child. Although one may endeavor to see in intelligible relationships the course of sexual development it is not logically permissible to assume in the infant sexual tendencies even though unconscious and to identify all his pleasurable experience with sexual pleasure. If, like Freud, one speaks of the component sex impulses of childhood and then expands the concept of sexuality so far that all these assumed component impulses can find place within it,[44] there results the vicious circle which must lead to the assumption "that all inclina-

[44] In view of the high respect and admiration I have for the personality and the work of Freud, I need scarcely state that the views set forth here could not have been developed without his ideas. The same could be said for the views of many other authors. Nevertheless it should be clear that I am not inclined toward psychoanalysis in the Freudian sense, near as some of my views are to the Freudian theory and well as I know that I have taken over directly a good deal of this theory.

tions to perversion have their origin in childhood, that children have tendencies toward them all and practice them in a measure corresponding to their immaturity. Perverse sexuality, in brief, is nothing more than magnified infantile sexuality divided into its separate tendencies.''[45] It is necessary to extract the facts from these dogmatic sentences.

Referring to the foregoing discussion, it may be said that the early or earliest impulse-life in the child is undifferentiated, and inaccessible to the direction of a conscious will cognizant through insight and experience, for such a will is lacking by the nature of things. In this undifferentiated impulse-life the three cardinal impulses are inextricably intertwined, and in it also there is present not that which *is* but that which *is to be* the sexual impulse. Thus the pleasure or the pleasure-satisfaction of early childhood does not have a sexual emphasis, but is undifferentiated. Is it necessary to say that the infant's attempt to kick off its clothes is not identifiable with adult exhibitionism? Into the infant's pleasure-satisfaction, however, there enters—we are not interested in any ''moral purity'' of the infant—that which pertains to the sexual impulse belonging to its developmental stage, which may be better termed here the developmental *pre*-stage. In such conceptions also there is found the developmental attachment of perversions to the sexually undifferentiated phase; but one escapes the ascription to the infant of a sexual life which it certainly cannot have.

We are of the opinion that a differentiation of the specifically sexual takes place in the stage termed by us the ''early notch,'' that is about the second to the fifth year of life. It is necessary to guard against the ascrip-

[45] Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis.*

tion to the child of too much sexual knowledge, and instead to think of the activity of the instinct which permanently determines the corresponding processes in animals to an incomparably greater extent than in man. Thus it becomes comprehensible that normally in the interval between the early jag and the puberal jag the sexual fades into the background in the experience of the child. Instinctively the individual turns during this period to processes which are then of greater significance for its development. To give an analogy: the healthy adult in his normal self-development, as we have explained, does not devote to his sexual life, which enters into the totality of his experience, the exaggerated attention devoted to it by the psychopath, the latter in his disharmony being continually reminded of the special defect in his sexual development.

B. CONCERNING MASTURBATION[46] AND MASTURBATORS

The child must become oriented with regard to his own organization before he is able to make a purposeful attempt to understand his environment. Thus the behavior of earliest childhood appears in a certain sense autistic; the impulse-life of the child leads compulsively to occupation—healthfully to pleasurable occupation—with his own body and its functions, but it is not permissible on this account to speak of "anal eroticism." That in this period because of bad pedagogy there occurs a concentration on genital and anal regions and that this is not without later significance is beyond dispute. Furthermore stupid excess of tenderness is badly borne by psychopathic or nervous children.

The young child in his undifferentiated pleasure-satisfaction needs no partner. *The masturbator* strives

[46] Synonyms: Onanism, ipsation.

for and attains sexual excitement and sexual satisfaction similarly alone "without the assistance of a real partner" (Kronfeld). In this parallelism there is contained what is descriptively common to the behavior of the small child and the masturbator. Subsequently it will be necessary to discuss the differences between the pleasure experience of the young child and the masturbator, and the developmental relationship between the two.

Freud thinks that the infant in the first stage of the earliest sexual period—the oral stage—seeks and finds in the mother's breast its sexual object; then follows an "auto-erotic condition" in which the anus and urethra as well as the mouth belong supposedly to the erogenous zones. The child playing with its body arrives at manipulation of its genitals: thus it has discovered "infantile masturbation" which Freud considers to be general. The stage following the first oral period passes for "auto-erotic,"[47] progress is through the "narcistic period" upon which follows normally the period of primacy of the genital zone, and then the finding of the sexual object in which all component impulses are devoted to one partner.

In rare cases it is possible to observe that the so-called "infantile masturbation" passes over without interruption into masturbatory behavior at the early jag, and there are certainly also children who maintain their habits of masturbation into and beyond puberty. Is the genetic relationship between the genital self-pleasure-giving of the infant and of the masturbator thus actually established? We would like to assume that this is essentially the case only outwardly, in regard to the motor mechanism. In the total sexual behavior there exist incisive differences, particularly

[47] The expression "auto-erotic" was introduced by Havelock Ellis.

from the psychosexual standpoint. In the first place we cannot agree that the masturbating infant obtains *sexual* pleasure because, as already explained, the sex impulse in him is not yet differentiated. Freud does not seem to overlook this fact. We will not deny the sexual component in the early rise of the curve but there is lacking not only the orgasm but also the essential ending[48] of the sex act itself. There is lacking furthermore (in spite of all sexual enlightenment, and in spite of the admitted instinctive knowledge of the sexual) that which first gives to the total sex process in man its psychic backbone—namely, the developed psychosexuality, the more or less psychic superstructure of the sex experience.

The small child as "auto-erotic" and "narcissistic" may derive some pleasure from its body; the masturbating child in the early phase may enjoy tickling of the genitals, but the sexual act itself normally first occurs in puberty. This is neither a dispute over terminology nor an evasion of the real significance of sexuality. Whereas there exists nothing pathological or psychopathic *per se* in the infant's genital manipulation—the generality of which may be doubted—the case is different with the pronouncedly masturbatory activity of the early jag particularly when sexual curiosity takes the upper hand and when as often happens a marked excitability of the genital zones exists. Such early masturbators of both sexes are well known to psychiatrists. They are marked as definitely psychopathic children by nervous symptoms, general excita-

[48] Exactly speaking the determining factor here is not so much the absence of the conclusion—for there exist even in adults sexual acts which do not reach the ending—as the knowledge of the possibility of the conclusion and the striving toward the concluding relaxation.

bility, and not infrequently by pseudologistic features, and a need for recognition. One might be inclined occasionally to relate their early sexual maturity—really prematurity since they are in no sense mature—to a psychopathic predisposition. A heightening of the total impulse-life is usually however not demonstrable and also there is no heightening of the still immature sex impulse. The masturbatory practices of these children are frequently explicable as resulting from environmental injury (home relationships, pedagogical errors, neglect, etc.). Not a few are educable in a good environment, susceptible to good influence, and are able under favorable circumstances to drop quickly their habits of masturbation. Many of these psychopathic children are definitely in an attitude of defiance and their masturbatory behavior occasionally has the same significance as enuresis which also occurs in them. Nevertheless the interpretation of the individual psychologists is not entirely sufficient for the explanation of all manifestations with which one has to deal. *Anlagen* as a rule play a part. This is indicated not only in the objective findings and the hereditary tainting but also in the observation that many children in analogous situations develop these peculiarities neither during the early notch nor later. Nevertheless the dangerous influence of the environment, especially of the parental environment, must be seriously considered. Such is the case with children of parents who live together in unhappy wedlock; or who accomplish or have accomplished their separation before the eyes and ears of the child who is thus torn between father and mother. Thus there often results an actually cruel psychic maltreatment of the child. These children in addition to other psychopathic manifestations tend also to sexual abnormalities. In this connection it is to be

remembered that parents of this kind are themselves frequently markedly psychopathic.

Between the early sexual notch and puberty there are children, as has already been indicated, who *still* masturbate. Concerning these nothing is to be added to the above remarks. Many children, however, first begin to masturbate after the early notch. Some of them as sexually precocious may belong already in a certain sense to the stage of puberty; with others this is not the case. In these latter, seduction in schools and institutions undoubtedly plays a great rôle. They are not all to be considered as psychopathic since often enough they are only the passive victims of older adolescent or preadolescent seducers and, aside from the influence of the seducer, give little attention to the sexual. It is not a matter for surprise that now and then the seduction merely awakens tendencies lying all too ready.

Real puberal masturbation is not *per se* a psychopathic manifestation. During puberty the great majority of all adolescents may masturbate. The opinion is current that among boys of this period the percentage of masturbation is even greater than among girls; cautious authors appear to avoid giving figures in this connection.

Excessive masturbation during puberty must arouse suspicion of psychopathy. It is impossible to give in one picture the psychopathic type of puberal masturbator. Here important differences are to be observed which are rooted in the total structure of the personality as far as it is already formed or as its direction has become clear. It may be said, perhaps, it is not puberal masturbation which stamps the adolescent as psychopathic but rather the psychopathic fabric of the individual adolescent which gives to his masturbation a particular stamp. We will content ourselves with the

following suggestions: the masturbatory behavior of the sensitive, dreamy, and autistic differs from that of the hypomaniac; the pubescent, with marked intensification of impulses, will attract particular attention sexually but not exclusively through masturbation. Some of the scrupulous even in the presence of considerable impulsive force fall less into habitual masturbation than do the more superficial types.

Usually in puberty the choice of sexual object is decided for the individual. On this rock many founder; not a few find no solution at all, and remain in masturbation. Here one should not be narrow-minded and especially in the temperate zone should not expect too early the completion of maturity. The effect of moral attitudes particularly is not to be underestimated: a great number of young persons help themselves through the premarital years with the "masturbation of necessity" (*Notonanie*), not only in order to enter into marriage "untouched" but also because of fear of disease or because of shyness—that is ultimately in spite of a heterosexual attitude: because of fear of the woman or fear of the man. Further attention need not be devoted here to the fact that this abstinence, however well it may work out in many cases, now and then may have unhappy consequences later in marriage or even in extra-marital intercourse, after the appropriate sexual object has been found and the normal goal sought. There are disturbances of potency, especially psychic impotence in men, and frigidity in women, sexual fear, and other "neurotic" manifestations which are observed in both sexes.

Now we must consider personalities which do not find their way beyond puberal masturbation, that is psychopathic masturbators in the strict sense of the word. According to all explanations it is quite possible

to speak of a developmental inhibition in them without forgetting that the analogy to behavior in the sexual "pre-stage" must be carefully considered, that the psychopathic masturbation of the adult occurs in very diverse personality types, and furthermore in situations not at all equivalent from the point of view of combined constitutional and environmental factors. The total structure of the personality in temperament and character is of great significance here, but the rôle of sexual development in the formation of character is not to be overlooked. A free and happy environment in which the harmless association of the sexes is a matter of course *ceteris paribus* will be very different in effect from a puritanical hypocritical environment in which sexuality outside the marriage-bed—and not only outside of it—is thought shocking. The choice of companions will also have its effect on the sexual decisions of the individual. The individual endowment, however, remains almost always the determining factor: a visit to a brothel can for one individual indicate a comparatively harmless entering into sexual intercourse, for another the initiation of random physical sexual relationships, and for a third the tendency to escape once for all in disgust from the normal sexual relationship. We have mentioned only a few of the possibilities and not even indicated their complications.

The masturbator[49] remains alone in his sexual activity without, however, always finding his satisfaction in himself. The fear of the woman, leaving him prey to a shyness[50] which cannot be concealed in the presence of any feminine being—with the possible exception of

[49] We consider here the male masturbator. There is much less known about female masturbation.

[50] It does not need to be explained that not every shy youth is a masturbator.

mother and sister, or occasionally of their feminine substitutes (friends of the mother, old servants who have lived long in the family) not infrequently gives him a definite stigma. There are, nevertheless, "chronic masturbators" (*Nachmansohn*) who appear at least outwardly unembarrassed in the presence of women. The auto-erotic attitude of the masturbator may be related in some sense to a deviate mother-fixation; in the girl, father-fixation in the sense of the incest-complex of the psychoanalysts. There are older masturbators—I have observed one such over a long period in the clinic—who live together with their mothers bound by an insoluble tie. In such cases it cannot always be determined to what degree the jealous "incestoid" (v. Hentig) mother actively prevents the son from entering into another relationship, he himself being usually little inclined to marriage.

The masturbator works out his whole psychosexuality in phantasy. Outwardly he is often a devoted admirer of women, and not infrequently he creates an object of devotion which he worships from afar without, however, making it essentially the imaginary ideal companion of his sexual acts. The phantasy of the masturbator who knows the normal sexual act only from books and occasionally has throughout his whole life little conception of the structure of the feminine body, implicates women in a manifold manner in the preparation and completion of the masturbatory act; pictorial representations serve frequently to strengthen the illusion. Many masturbators are lascivious in a high degree and are intensely excited by the sight of women or by corresponding pictures—some of them so much so that they masturbate immediately.

There are masturbators who marry in spite of difficulties and side by side with a regular sexual inter-

course remain true to the habit which has become dear to them[51] finding it more satisfying than coitus. One hears similar reports from women also.

In many masturbators there exists a fondness for children which gives to their phantasies during the sexual activity the psychosexual requisite.

Solitary masochistic "auto-sadistic" actions (case of Edenhofer) are not unknown among masturbators. Excessive masturbators report occasionally fetishistic behavior and phantasy. An example of this came under my observation in a man of forty-eight years,[52] who from his sixth year had masturbated, occasionally with other boys and with girls, and at the age of twenty-three had acquired from a prostitute a syphilitic infection. Since the infection he had "a terrible hatred of all women" and masturbated regularly and excessively. He thought constantly "of women and his mind was full of sexual pictures"; he was enormously excited by feminine portraits. For over twenty years in every lodging in which he had spent the night he cut the bedding into small pieces, and in so doing became intensely excited and proceeded with the act of masturbation. He had destroyed at least some 1,500 beds in all. The fetishistic bent in combination with a sadistic element is unmistakable.

Also the so-called "frotteurs" display relationships

[51] In this connection personalities are to be mentioned which are endowed with a strong sex impulse and take up an intensive masturbation of necessity as soon as they have no adequate sexual object at their disposal. Types which masturbate in the presence of a sexual partner purely to torment the partner belong in the discussion of the sadists. Flight from the woman can be generally asserted neither in the one case nor in the other.

[52] The person concerned was prematurely aged, short-sighted, and hard of hearing, markedly autistic, "unstable," and also highly excitable.

to fetishism; usually in a crowd they press against a woman standing in front of them and masturbate against her buttocks. In this highly inferior mode of finding a sexual object there is at least occasionally a homosexual element; at all events there enters in a marked tendency to devaluate the woman who thus is degraded to a sexual convenience.[53] This element enters also into many other sexual perversions and is not infrequent in persons who, in spite of normal sexual intercourse, are not psychosexually balanced.

Masturbation is a regular accompaniment of the sexual perversions[54] and will be discussed in this connection. In contradistinction to the masturbators already mentioned, who are in the main heterosexual, there are also those who flee from women because they are homosexual. Such "disguised homosexuals" work out their accompanying masturbatory phantasy in a homosexual sense; many of them are not clear as to their homosexual attitude, and perhaps do not wish to become so.

In puberal and in adult masturbators, as has been mentioned repeatedly, the images of the phantasy are important for the course of the act which is accompanied by genital irritation. If the "psychic side of the sexual excitement and release is sufficient without the mechanical irritation of the genital apparatus" (Kronfeld), the process is termed *psychic masturba-*

[53] This implication still clings to the unfortunate phrase "to use a woman." Here may be cited the words of a young man whom Ruth Künkel quotes: "Being with a prostitute is nothing but masturbation in the woman in which the woman is the factor of least importance."

[54] We do not wish to rank masturbation itself at all among the sexual perversions, but only to place chronic masturbation in the immediate neighborhood of the perversions. This may correspond essentially to Kronfeld's conception.

tion. Into this there probably enter particularly abundant and varied, not least of all perverse, phantasy forms. Of this type are at least certain of the writers of obscene letters, who derive intense stimulation from the composition of these epistles, which are burdened with complicated sexual pictures and descriptions. It may be noted that obscenity, sexual erotic reading, and the corresponding pictures stand in close relationship to psychic masturbation.

C. THE NARCIST

Narcism may be regarded as one of the forms of auto-eroticism related to masturbation (Naecke),[55] "the state of being in love with the own ego" with outspoken erotic or sexual attachment to one's own personality, especially to one's own body. The narcist strictly speaking is the masturbator who is himself his sexual object and his sexual goal, who worships his own body, and caresses and fondles himself before the mirror, occasionally enacting a sexual scene with his own mirror image (*Spiegelakte,* Kronfeld). Kronfeld reports that narcists collect photographs of themselves in the nude, dress themselves fantastically before the mirror, and more infrequently "recapitulate in these various make-ups the stages of their own childhood (*Cisvestitismus*), or other realizations of fantastic-heroic ego-ideality which carry a tone of pleasure."

It is certain that in the chronic masturbator, even without marked narcism, narcistic features frequently occur in the form of a particular attitude to his own body. Perhaps associated with this is a frequent tendency in masturbators to hypochondria; this tendency in general seems to me somewhat too biased—being derived from the well-known popular handbooks of

[55] Automonosexualismus (*Rohleder*).

sexual enlightenment, the golden age of which may be past.[56] It must be said that narcistic inclusions are in nowise limited to sexual perversions, even in the broadest sense of the word. A kernel of narcism lies actually in all human vanity[57] and more than a kernel in the extreme, almost cultistic care which many women —but also men, who are not at all homosexual—give their own bodies. It is certainly not to be forgotten that the majority of these latter take this care primarily to please others, whereas the true narcist is satisfied to find his pleasure in and for himself. Kronfeld describes the narcists as "mostly reserved, tender, often delicate cool natures who love solitude and are literally self-sufficient." He considers this perversion to be experience-conditioned on the basis of autistic tendencies and "schizothymic constitution." A narcist of my own observation was an aesthete thirty years old, markedly autistic and sensitive, with a predominantly asthenic physique, who was accustomed to masturbate during sexually exciting reading, and as seemed characteristic of his personality, had been married for some time to a Lesbian.[58]

D. THE TRANSVESTITES

Whereas for the narcists masquerading is an occasional game, the perversion of *transvestitism* is charac-

[56] It may be remarked that attitudes of self-reference (tendency to ideas of reference) can produce in masturbators pronounced "paranoia masturbatoria" on the basis of bad conscience, insecurity, and sensitive-autistic components. These conditions may be thus partially understood but scarcely explained entirely, as Kehrer also has asserted.

[57] Kronfeld says cogently, "the affective affirmation of the value of the self is within certain limits an immediately biologically conditioned component fundamental to psychic vitality."

[58] A younger brother, who was married, was accustomed to unbounded extra-marital heterosexual intercourse, and masturbated in addition.

terized by the tendency to wear the clothes of the other sex. Kronfeld, whom I follow here, describes this field as dark. He thinks that this tendency that occasionally spreads out into the wish to assume a name belonging to the other sex, and more rarely to go into a profession of the other sex, may correspond to certain forms of affective overvalidity and refers to the fact that von Krafft-Ebing termed such cases *Geschlechtsumwandlungswahn.*[59] Kronfeld finds essential in the transvestites, who are certainly not all homosexual, a fundamental narcistic attitude, a great inclination to self-portrayal, to seeing themselves in the nude, and to self-love. When they have striven for and obtained permission to wear the clothes and to bear a name belonging to the other sex they take great delight in making themselves important and interesting in their "dual psychic nature" (Kronfeld). Those male transvestites who can be happily married and are able to do well in their profession, are said to belong with respect to physique chiefly to the "asthenic type with eunuchoid tendencies"; feminine athletic and hypophysical-akromegaloid features are said to occur. Kronfeld stresses the fact that they are psychically "perhaps the most outspoken schizothymic in Kretschmer's sense, which one finds anywhere among the perverse." In the genesis of this perversion, as with narcism, experiential factors play a rôle, "under the supposition of intersexual constitutional components."

E. THE HOMOSEXUALS

The justification for the discussion of sexual deviates among the psychopathic, in the sense of our conception founded on quantitative peculiarities, is found in the fact that the sexual perversions "are in all re-

[59] "Delusion of sex-transformation."

spects only vaguely and not distinctly differentiated" (Kronfeld). Freud is right in calling attention to the fact "that only occasionally perverse elements are entirely lacking in the sex life of the normal." The sex life of the normal, even though resting ultimately on constitutional basis, is subject to change by environmental factors to a marked degree, and especially in its development depends much on external influence; the same is true in the sexual perversions.

Thus is suggested the problem with regard to the genesis of *homosexuality,* which was sharply disputed until a short time ago. Whereas one side maintained an experiential origin of this perversion partially with emphasis on seduction (Kraepelin), the other side was of the opinion that the contrasexual attitude is constitutionally founded (Magnus Hirschfeld). The opinion seems now gradually to be gaining that there are *several* kinds of homosexuality (Kronfeld) and furthermore that between the extremes of an early manifested constitutional type and of an accidental type there are all possible transition forms (Kehrer).

The last word has not been said on the subject. Nevertheless an intermediate view between the earlier stressed extremes can find support in an increasing number of careful observations, and especially in the fact that a group of homosexuals (the term being not too narrowly conceived) show physical peculiarities (Weil, Mathes), not present in other homosexuals. Further support is found in observations made and still being made under special circumstances with regard to transitory homosexual attitudes in both sexes in institutions, and barracks, at sea, and in great numbers under the peculiar circumstances of the war. In addition, there are the poisons which may occasionally evoke homosexuality (alcohol, cocaine); here, however,

the question may be asked always as to whether the perversion of feeling and behavior would have developed under the influence of poison in the absence of a predisposition toward such perversion.

The *Anlagen* of sexuality—of the normal as well as of the deviating—should not be too simply conceived. In any case it is a question of a very intricate interplay of an agglomeration of hereditary factors. Important in this connection are Wolf's genealogical investigations, whereby he was able to demonstrate in the relatives of homosexuals, differentiable types of men and women with heterologous psychosexual elements. He came to the conclusion that the accumulation of such frequent tendencies to slight psychosexual peculiarities broadly conceived (energetic women, "soft" men) would lead to the production of constitutional homosexuals. It is suggested that many of these slight peculiarities could slip over into perversion under certain circumstances, and that they should be recognized as transitional stages between the purely accidental and the purely constitutional contrasexuals. With reference to Kretschmer's statement which Kronfeld was able to support on the basis of his own exceedingly wide experience, it may be assumed that the pyknic-cycloid cycle includes markedly fewer homosexuals than the asthenic-autistic type.[60] The possibility that in the case of the latter a more labile sexual *Anlage* favors the development of contrasexual attitudes toward the environment is granted just as is the other possibility that in the sexual *anlage* of the asthenic-autistic type there are with a certain predilection contained hereditary factors of homosexuality. From this point of view also the feminine intersexuals described by Mathes appear significant.

[60] I intentionally omit schizothymics and schizoids.

The results of investigation concerning the ontogenetic development of sexuality offer also a certain justification for a broader view which is particularly dear to the Freudian School. This view Allers expresses as follows: "It appears very much as if a certain quantum of homosexuality were active but more or less concealed in the soul of almost every person, and that as soon as the appropriate conditions are given it may accede to manifest activity."[61]

These remarks are in close relationship to the definition of homosexuality, or of "true" homosexuality. By this is to be understood not alone overt sexual behavior with persons of the same sex, but also and primarily the arousal of sex feelings by such persons (Kehrer). Homosexuality conditioned by situation (Raecke), especially the homosexuality of necessity and opportunity, are not to be accounted true homosexuality, although it should be realized that also in these cases a true homosexual feeling may frequently be concealed in the background.

According to the conception of Alfred Adler's individual psychology, previously discussed in detail, the origin of homosexuality and the attitude of the homosexual (as also of other perverts) is explained from the point of view of finality. "The homosexual in his development denies the fundamental principle of the preservation of society"; this behavior would characterize him as a nervous and ambitious person who in his will to power unscrupulously degrades the highest values of society. Indeed many homosexuals quite con-

[61] We guess that Allers is right in saying: "It may be that the extreme horror of some people—otherwise not necessarily hypocritical—toward all kinds of homosexuality, or suggestions of homosexuality, is the result of the overcoming, suppression, 'repression' of such a possibility in their own personalities."

sciously, from the standpoint of their peculiarity,[62] depreciate sexual normality together with all its consequences for the community, and so overcompensate in an extreme exaggeration of their own attitude. Nevertheless this seems at least usually to be secondary; it is certainly not the essence of homosexuality. Adler is, however, to be supported to some extent in his estimation of the homosexual personality as in its whole structure not fully fitted for life, and in his ascription to it of "exaggerated ambition, and extraordinarily marked caution, or cowardice toward life." Adler sees in homosexuals the typically nervous. Whereas other authors count up how many homosexuals are psychopathic and how many are not, it is for Adler an established fact that the homosexual personality is fundamentally "neurotic,"—we would say psychopathic. We are of the opinion that Adler is right in this respect. Apart from other psychopathic peculiarities it seems to us that the homosexual on account of his psychosexual behavior is inevitably psychopathic in the sense of our definition: not simply because he deviates in his sexuality but because his sexuality inevitably creates structural peculiarities in the fundamental construction of the total personality which in our opinion Adler partially describes correctly from his point of view.

Freud, setting out from the "polymorphous per-

[62] Emphasis may be given to this peculiarity by the homosexuals' claim that their sex impulse is particularly strong. It is possible that this claim may cover also an attempt at some sort of excuse. Whereas the sexually normal receives few comments from the outside with regard to his sexual life the homosexual receives frequent reprimands, sometimes well intentioned, sometimes given in an attitude of superiority. It is thus intelligible that homosexuals feeling that no one understands their anomaly seek an excuse in presuming an excessive strength of sex impulse. It is obvious that this assertion helps to increase the self-evaluation.

versity" of the infant, composed of its component impulses,[63] sees in homosexuality as in every other perversion, consistently with his theory, an inhibition of development, an infantilism. It has been explained already that the impulse-life of the small child is not identical with that of the adult. It is equally impossible to see in homosexuality an arrest of a hypothetical homosexual component impulse of early childhood; instead it is granted merely that the progress through a homosexual stage is to be recognized more or less clearly in every sexual development. In this sense it is possible that persistent homosexuality is to be understood as an inhibition in development. It is obvious that this does not afford a complete explanation and that constitutional and circumstantial components must be drawn upon for the explanation. This point has also not escaped Freud.

Into homosexuality enters, with particular emphasis, repudiation of the normal sex rôle, flight from the man or from the woman, which has been clear in the deviations thus far discussed. It is not to be disputed that in

[63] Freud's hypothesis of sexual components in the child appears to support our view that the sexuality of the child is not to be handled like the sexuality of the adult. Freud (*General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*) writes: "It is really only natural; if the child has sexual life at all, it must necessarily be perverse, because aside from a few hazy illusions the child does not know how sexuality gives rise to production. The common characteristic of all perversions, on the other hand, is that they have abandoned reproduction as their aim." That is: sexuality without a reproductive aim is perverse. Is it not important to demonstrate first that the child actually has the sexuality ascribed to him? Far as I am from conceiving a sudden development of sexuality in puberty I feel it necessary to say that if Freud would admit the so-called sexuality of the infant to be a "pre-stage" of sexuality, this would be logically correct, and certainly not disputed by the great majority of authors—not on the basis of prudery but out of respect for the facts.

the period of maturing, that is, during the time of completion not only of physical sexuality but also of its psychosexual superstructure and of their harmonization, there takes place the emancipation from the parents. Up to this point ties persist which stand in relation to the incest-complex. Environmental as well as psychopathic factors, in particular sexual psychopathic factors, can cause difficulties in the resolution of this complex. As long as the child-parent fixation exists, as long as the incest-complex is not settled, the unified completion of the psychophysical sexuality, and so the free choice of the heterosexual object cannot take place. With the persistence of the "incestuous" child-parent fixation the choice of object is limited, distorted, or rendered entirely impossible. It is not to be doubted that in all this not only psychosexual factors but also somatic peculiarities are concerned. It is just as little to be forgotten that derailment from the object choice is frequently determined to a very large extent by experiential factors. The psychoanalytic conception that the homosexual identifies himself with the mother in order to win the father's love, we cannot accept. On the contrary it seems to us a plausible conception that the homosexual may be prevented through his tie to the mother from finding the way to the woman, and that corresponding relationships may be present in the homosexual female. We consider it unnecessary to follow out this conception in every homosexual type; it may suffice to have laid down the principle. It is readily understood that the presence of physical characteristics of the other sex offers a most favorable basis for the persistence of the incestuous tie to the parent of the opposite sex, and for homosexual development. Marked feminine physical characteristics in the man, or marked masculine physical characteristics in the

woman, render the incestuous psychosexual tie in no way superfluous; under such circumstances the physical conditioning of psychosexual development, which is not always obvious, becomes particularly clear. Nevertheless it goes without saying that it is not permissible to misrepresent facts in favor of some theoretical conceptions.

In coming to a consideration of the different homosexual types I should like first to quote the Danish poet Herman Bang, who was a homosexual. Bang does not consider homosexuality to be "perversity."[64] "It is not unnatural; on the contrary; the homosexual individual in being homosexual is living in accord with his own individual nature, and that is with the nature with which he was born." Bang is convinced that "pronounced homosexuality is inborn." He writes: "In homosexuality which is inborn there are a great number of nuances and stages. There is a class of men who are entirely masculine in every other relationship, and indeed more masculine than most men (many great generals belong to this class), they are different from other men only in their sexual life, and they love men in a distinctly masculine manner exactly as a heterosexual man loves a woman. Let us call this class of men the 'right wing.' The 'left wing' will then be composed of the pronounced 'women' in the ranks of the homosexuals—'women,' that is men who possess of manhood little more than the name, the body is pronouncedly feminine in form and the so-called psyche has almost exclusively feminine tendencies. This is marked in every aspect of the personality: in the being, the bearing, the speaking, and not least in the gestures. These men sew and embroider, they seek vocations

[64] It seems well to understand by perversion the deviating sexual attitude, by perversity the individual deviating sex acts.

such as that of cook, waiter, ladies' tailor (modiste); I have never found a homosexual gentlemen's tailor; if a homosexual is a tailor he always makes ladies' apparel. Between these two extremes, however, there are plenty of transitions where sometimes the masculine predominates in the appearance and in the whole affective life, and sometimes the feminine is more in evidence." The supposition "that homosexuals themselves invariably play only the part of the man or only that of the woman in the love act" Bang declares erroneous. "Only the entirely pronounced right wing remains consistently masculine. In all the intermediate stages the form of intercourse varies, being entirely feminine only at the outermost border of the left wing."

It is impossible to agree completely with Bang who is biased in certain points, especially in his overestimation of the intellectual significance of homosexuality for the artistic personality (which remains to be mentioned), and in a certain underestimation of homosexuality which is not in the true sense inborn; but it seems that essentially he has seen and interpreted correctly.[65] Bang does not enter into a discussion of homosexuality in the woman. Corresponding to Bang's main idea it is

[65] At least by way of comment a further quotation from Bang should be given. He speaks of a group which he calls *agents provocateurs*. "They are never or almost never homosexually active but have an interest, which is literally all-supplanting, in homosexual manifestations and persons . . . A corner of their psyche or of their organism must indeed be homosexual. . . . It is just these people who publicly condemn homosexuality the most severely. Interestingly enough I have observed that persons in whom to my way of thinking homosexual elements have been present in abundance from birth, direct the sharpest attacks against homosexuals, probably out of a secret and hidden fear of themselves." Cf. the quotation from Allers, p. 129, n. 61.

possible, as Kronfeld has done, to set up four chief types of homosexuality: the active and the passive masculine, and the active and the passive feminine types. As is usually the case in the setting-up of types the pure types are very rare and intermediate types of all kinds are very frequent.

Among the active homosexuals, on Bang's "right wing," are natures which in appearance and essence are completely masculine. I examined a sculptor who belongs here, who regretted the impossibility of entering into closer relationships with women solely because he felt an understanding of the heterosexual experience to be desirable for the rounding out of his total experience. Then follow personalities who show in addition to present activity, features of softness, sentimentality, and especially of seductibility; many of them incline to an adoration of their darling which bears the special stamp of fanatic worship, and show a pronounced affection for much younger men, principally adolescents and small boys (pederasty, ephebophilia, pedophilia). Their ever ready jealousy and its manifestation are usually not of an entirely masculine character. In the material of the Clinic in Munich there are to be found among such cases persons of pronounced masculine habitus, but also now and then persons with physical elements of a feminine nature (feminine larynx, high voice). One of them, a teacher of forty years, declared himself to have remained "inwardly a boy"; a musician of thirty-one years, who, together with intercourse with boys up to the age of sixteen, masturbated intensely to the accompaniment of the appropriate phantasies, declared, "with older boys it begins to get indecent."

It is to be remarked that these active types do not take over the active rôle in every individual sexual

act,[66] but instead seem to vary markedly. With not a few homosexuals it may be a matter only of kissing and caressing and never of sexual activity in the narrower sense of the word; ultimately many remain "disguised" homosexuals, who limit themselves to masturbatory phantasies. How split the attitude can be in all this is well illustrated by the case of a salesman of twenty-nine years: as a child he had received repeated enemas from his mother and had developed, after an initial fear and pain in connection with this procedure, a feeling of pleasure of a sexual character. Since that time in sexual excitement he always wanted an enema. This desire was replaced during his sixteenth year by a desire for active and passive *pedicatio* which he never practiced, having always been an excessive masturbator.[67] I should like to mention here a clerk of thirty-one years, son of extremely bigoted and autistic parents, a masturbator who at the end of two years of marriage had not succeeded in accomplishing the defloration of his wife ten years his junior who had normal sex desire. He limited himself to masturbatory acts and attempts at *coitus a tergo,* "because then my wife can't see me; I would be afraid to show her a stupid face." He was a gentle vain man of asthenic habitus, with bobbed hair; he had a great need for appreciation, and was unaware of any homosexuality in himself. In spite of all his endeavor he had not suc-

[66] It is usually a matter of mutual masturbation accompanied by caresses of the most varied types, less of *coitus inter femora,* of *immissio in os,* and probably least frequent of all, of *pedicatio.*

[67] In the family history it is noteworthy that one brother is a shoe fetishist, another an exhibitionist, and that the children knew of a *liaison* between the father and the mother's sister. In the homosexual just described the pubic hair did not reach to the navel; he was a nervous, anxious, easily excitable individual.

ceeded in freeing himself from the dominion of the tie to his mother.

There are some masculine prostitutes who seem to alter their attitude with regard to passivity and activity, in accord with the wishes of their clientèle, in complete analogy to the willingness to serve in this matter which is found in many female prostitutes. I have seen a mechanic of thirty-three years who, living as a prostitute, was markedly active toward younger men, following and attacking them; on the other hand however, he had many feminine traits and was accessible to all sorts of homosexual practices. A "phrenologist"[68] of thirty-seven years, who earned his living as a prostitute and as a swindling clairvoyant, was physically completely masculine in development; he had felt himself to be like a girl from childhood on, later was glad to wear girls' clothes, wanted to cook and embroider, concealed his sex, liked to be called "Juliet" and "Mary" and was characterized by an affected, sweetish, womanish behavior. Transvestite tendencies were displayed also by a journalist[69] of twenty-two years, who wore girls' clothes and an artificial bosom, and wished most of all "to be expecting"; he masturbated, dressed in corset and women's underwear, but as yet had entered into no homosexual relationship. Another homosexual transvestite, a salesman of thirty-eight years,[70] had liked since childhood to wear girls' clothes.

[68] He felt himself drawn to powerful men, preferably men in uniform, to whom he could give himself as a girl; he claimed that he did not associate with homosexual men. His affectivity was markedly labile.

[69] He was gentle, "unstable," afraid of people, and filled with hatred for his parents.

[70] As a child he had played with dolls, at fifteen he began to masturbate alone, and at seventeen with others. Physically he was of masculine physique.

He had rather long hair and liked in so far as possible to have a feminine cut to his clothes: the object of his affection had to be older than himself. A cheese maker[71] of twenty-eight years, whom I saw later, wrote as follows to the clinic: "As yet I have felt no real affection for a girl but instead I have been strongly attracted to members of my own sex and in such cases I have always wanted to be a girl. I have not the slightest desire myself to have intercourse with men and am not homosexual." A man living on his private means who was fifty-two years old and the type of homosexual labeled as the so-called "aunt," had acted as the passive partner throughout a homosexual relationship of many years' duration in which he had been thoroughly exploited.[72]

All these cases taken at random from a much larger material are unanimous in the assertion that they have never felt an attraction to a woman. With few exceptions the homosexuals known to me have been frequent and some of them excessive masturbators.

Even though feminine body traits are to be found in many of them I have been unable to find any rule governing their distribution in individual cases. As was stated in the citing of individual cases there are homosexuals of masculine habitus with markedly passive attitude. A predominance of the asthenic or leptosomatic type of physique seems to me to exist; in this I support Kretschmer. I am at least of the impression

[71] A man essentially of asthenic build and gentle manners, who was successful in his business.

[72] He was an asthenic who had grown fat in his later years, a physically torpid person with scant growth of beard, and somewhat broad hips. He was anxious, lacking in energy, nervous, insecure, of gentle affected manners, hypochondriacal, easy going, and intellectually moderately gifted. He used to emphasize his intense feeling of inferiority behind which he took refuge from all social demands.

that I must confirm Kretschmer's observation that there exists an affinity of homosexuality for his so-called schizothymic and schizoid personalities.

I am far from doubting the statement made by Weil and Kronfeld concerning the physique of the masculine homosexuals. If I have been able to make only relatively few corresponding observations this may well be due to the peculiarity of my clinical material which was in part examined years ago, and to the fact that my observations are very much less numerous than those of the above-mentioned authors. Certainly these investigations of physique have a significance reaching far beyond the problem of sexuality in the narrower sense. I would like to recall here the important statements made by Mathes with respect to female intersexuals. Mathes shows clearly the relationship of the feminine psyche to the feminine physique together with many of its deviations. It is interesting enough that Mathes' statements are an exact confirmation of the observations which every observer of human nature may make on the basis of intuition. There is no reason to suppose that it should be different in the male. Thus perhaps ultimately, proceeding exactly from a consideration of physique, it may be possible to become clear as to the supposition already mentioned that in everyone side by side with heterosexuality, or the major sexual attitude, there exists a bit of the homosexual, as a sort of subordinate sexual attitude.

Consideration of the feminine homosexuals is next in order. Here the observations even of the most experienced authors are undoubtedly less numerous than those with regard to masculine homosexuals. Referring to the phenomenological essays of Schneider and Toepel concerning inverted sexuality and erotic or Lesbian love, Kronfeld, with his wealth of experience,

stresses the fact that at least in man there is a somewhat comprehensible type, whereas with the homosexual woman we are still considerably in the dark. Nevertheless outstandingly active Lesbians are known who play and live the masculine rôle, and passive Lesbians who feel entirely as women to their female friends. There are, however, even among "urnings,"[73] a great number who seem somewhat ambivalent as far as active or passive impulse tendencies are concerned; this seems to be distinctly the case in the "urninds."[74]

It seems to me probable that there are not a few masculine women with homosexual tendencies, some of whom live in a wedlock which soon becomes unhappy and some of whom remain single either in complete ignorance of their perversion, or without becoming clear about it. Many of them may suffer from the fact that they are incapable of heterosexual relationship, others may feel this lack little or not at all. I am thinking here of an athletically built, completely autistic, tyrannical quarrelous farmer's wife,[75] who at the age of forty years had married a man nine years her junior and after three months of married life accomplished a separation under the auspices of the church on the false claim that her husband was impotent. Here mention may be made of a homosexually active teacher of twenty-seven years, an excessive masturbator and sado-masochist (to whom we will return later) particu-

[73] Male homosexuals. [74] Female homosexuals.

[75] This woman had broken an earlier engagement three days before the wedding on account of pretended drunkenness of the bridegroom. She was entirely masculine in appearance, had masculine hips, and a small moustache (to be sure at the time of observation she was already forty-seven years old), she admitted masturbation. Her sister who resembled her closely had broken her engagement eight days before the wedding claiming that the man had an illegitimate child.

larly because undoubted relationships exist between sadism and homosexuality in women analogous to that which has been observed between masculine homosexuality and masochism. Predominatingly active was the attitude of a nineteen-year-old girl who as a child had been very much of a tomboy; she was autistic, irascible, capricious, and would have preferred to be a man rather than a woman;[76] she had a boyish worship for a somewhat older woman, and hated her father. Another case, a twenty-five-year-old prostitute,[77] tortured with jealousy, who in Lesbian intercourse assumed the passive rôle, felt toward her girl friends entirely as a woman.

The women, like the men in my material, maintained that they never were able to feel any affection for the opposite sex. It may be that Lesbians enter relatively less often into intimate homosexual relationships (tribady) than masculine contrasexuals. Erotically colored homosexual relationships between women are to be sure relatively frequent. Perhaps some of these women find it practically easier to control their perversion than do the majority of homosexual men. Still it may be well to give here no more than suppositions.

Transvestites have been mentioned among the masculine homosexuals. In them narcistic elements are usually unmistakable; it has been noted that they masturbate intensively, as is apparently the case with almost all homosexuals. Among Lesbians also transvestite tendencies are not infrequent and obviously

[76] She was brought to the clinic after her first suicidal attempt. Various suicides had been committed in her family.

[77] Infected with gonorrhea during defloration at the age of sixteen, she had learned Lesbian love from prostitutes in the hospital: "From that moment on I gave up working. . . . In the reformatory the girls lay together almost every night. From that time forth no man could interest me. I have intercourse with girls who are pretty; nothing else exists for me."

predominate among the active.[78] The bobbed hair had, before the establishment of the present fashion, a certain ominous significance in this connection, and it was frequently accepted as an outward sign of the virago. A few remarks may be in place here with regard to the question whether and to what extent the bobbed hair and suggestively masculine clothing of the woman (short skirt, collar with necktie, etc.), may correspond to homosexual tendencies. It is not to be assumed that during recent years there has been an increase of homosexual *Anlagen* among women. The suspicion may arise, however, that the woman in her behavior is attempting to meet the ideal that her male contemporaries realize. This would suggest the deduction of an increase of homosexual "partial attitudes" among men. It must be recalled in this connection that the ubiquity of homosexual tendencies which are usually suppressed is not unlikely, and that a mobilization of such tendencies resulting from the conditions during the war does not appear unplausible. The masculine "taste" may thus have undergone a certain change which may be expected to reach an equilibrium in the future. Schindler pointed to the "frequent homosexual perversion of *libido* (without sexual activity) in so many entirely normal women during the absence of the men, which disappeared immediately with the men's return." It is possible to conceive that certain remainders of perversion among women are counterbalances to corresponding perverse tendencies in men. The fact may be noted that the overstressed crudity of masculine behavior during the war has brought in its wake a certain reactive diminution of activity—out of weariness. This finds its expression also in the behavior and

[78] And *vice versa,* the male homosexual transvestites seem to be recruited especially from among the passive with feminine feeling.

dress of many young men—a phenomenon in nowise limited to Germany, and not without precedent in history. After the onset of the French Revolution the fact became striking that the bearing of many men became enervated and feminine;[79] the language itself came to be marked by a carelessness and softness which was later ridiculed; on the other hand particularly energetic women enjoyed a heightened esteem. Not to increase the length of this discussion and in order to leave no ground for a possible misunderstanding, I will simply stress the fact that the conclusion is not to be drawn from the peculiarities already mentioned and from their genetic possibilities, that homosexuality in the strict sense of the term is conditioned by environment only. It cannot be overlooked, however, that in many persons present *Anlagen* may be mobilized during a certain epoch by tendencies which at other periods would be either not brought out, or brought out to a far less degree. Bang may be cited as the principal witness since he gave little weight to the significance of seduction in this sphere. However, it might be possible to object that this was done with the intent to emphasize that homosexuality is predestined.

This may lead to the question of the extremely varied attitudes of the homosexuals toward their perversion. Concerning the Lesbians something has already been said. Many masculine homosexuals are heavily burdened with their perversion,[80] feel it a

[79] From about the time of the Great French Revolution until the third and even the fourth decade of the eighteenth century there existed in Germany a tenderness between men unknown to earlier and later times. Kissing and embracing on meeting was rather usual. Correspondence and friendship between men was tender and enthusiastic.

[80] Says Bang: "The first years of adolescence to be sure, represent the most difficult period for the homosexual. Most homosexuals have

"punishment by nature," an inferiority. Others stress, at least outwardly, the unusualness of their attitude and the banality of normal sexual relationships. Although this latter attitude may be in most cases conditioned through overcompensation, there are nevertheless homosexuals who seem to be convinced of the superiority of their perversion and endeavor to prove this superiority by quoting historical essays, or certain examples of modern literature. Homosexuals who are considered geniuses have been enumerated; in not a few of them the homosexuality is not definitely proved and frequently even rather questionable.[81] Bang, whose good faith cannot be doubted, goes so far as to assume "that homosexuality stands in a peculiar and inscrutable relation to artistic gift. . . . Were it possible to ascertain the exact number of homosexual poets one would find a percentage which would be really astonishing. There are psychic correlations of the organism which are at present completely unknown." I would like to believe that Bang overestimates the significance of the homosexual for art, although I do not question the fact that individual contrasexuals may be able to achieve high and sometimes the highest artistic merit; whether such merit is achieved for example by a homosexual poet, as Bang expresses it, because he remains a man and yet feels with the psyche of the woman, is open to doubt. It seems questionable to me whether the masculine element in the artists to whom Bang refers here works together peacefully with the feminine. In-

to pass through devastating struggle before they attain insight into themselves. . . . I have met men who have continued this battle into the fourth decade of their lives—amazed at themselves, strangers among strangers and without help."

[81] There may be mentioned Herman Bang, Count Platen, Paul Verlaine, Walt Whitman, Oscar Wilde, Socrates, Frederick the Great.

deed many homosexuals of high mental gifts are psychically extremely sensitive and differentiated, thus being especially gifted for the appreciation, occasionally also for the production, of works of art. On the other side there are, however, the well-known homosexual hyperaesthetes in whom every feeling, every artistic joy, and experience is exceedingly exaggerated and often distorted. There is no reason, it is true, to deny to the homosexual all productive capacity, but it is well to be cautious in the construction of causal relationships in this difficult sphere, especially since within a great number of homosexual personalities there is to be observed an unmistakable lack of activity in meeting life tasks, accompanied by an enormous concentration on their sexual life. This need not of course go so far as in the case mentioned earlier of the homosexual "aunt" of fifty-two years of age, to whom it seemed incomprehensible that in view of all the distractions and cares of everyday life people could still find time for a profession. It would be a mistake to consider the homosexuals as a whole as outstandingly lazy; one is continually meeting contrasexuals of great activity. Interesting and appropriate here is a remark of Bang, "that very many of the most zealous sportsmen are also homosexuals." "Probably many homosexuals take part zealously in all types of sport in order the better to conceal themselves. It is not to be forgotten furthermore that sport gives opportunity to the sportsman to dress up and to undress frequently." This recalls ancient Greece where gymnasiums and stadiums represented centers of "Greek love."

F. METATROPISM

Metatropism, so called by M. Hirschfeld, may be discussed here by way of appendix. By this term is to be

understood "the conversion into activity of sexual and erotic attitudes, which take effect as a masculine inclusion in the impulse-life of the woman, and a feminine inclusion in the impulse-life of the man, without, however, leading to homosexuality" (Kronfeld). It is questionable, however, whether in spite of the choice of a heterosexual partner the erotic-sexual attitude of devotion and submission in the man, and the aggressive bearing of the woman do not bring these metatropists into a certain relation to the homosexuals so far as behavior is concerned. Intimations of this are to be found as a matter of fact in many normal sexual relationships because the man is not exclusively the one who takes, and the woman is in nowise wholly limited to giving. Furthermore in or behind such metatropic attitudes in the man masochistic components are to be suspected, at least not infrequently; this may be especially the case when these attitudes are expressed "in a preference for physically superior or vigorous older women with a masculine element" (Kronfeld following Hirschfeld). *Vice versa* in the inclination of predominatingly virile women to weaker men, the participation of a sadistic tendency is now and then to be detected.

G. BISEXUALITY

It is likely, however, that metatropism may be related also to the so-called bisexuality, that is the sexual-erotic inclination or capacity for inclination to both sexes existing in one individual. Kronfeld considers our information with regard to this matter to be as yet very insufficient. Allers refers to the fact that "to many children it is really a matter of indifference to which sex the partner belongs." It should not be forgotten that in relationships between children the erotic-sexual coloring in the strict sense is not decisive if it enters

at all. It is indeed not to be doubted that at the time of puberty, before the final fixation of the choice of sexual object, there is to be observed in many persons a vacillation between the hetero- and the homosexual attitude. Transitory reversals of attitude occur in heterosexuals probably not entirely through environmental influences, although such influences, as has been previously mentioned, may be also capable of activating latent homosexual inclinations. It is also observed that after a homosexual puberty the heterosexual attitude may dominate the personality for many years only to give place at last to the homosexual (Kronfeld). One must agree with Kronfeld's statement that it is impossible at present to give any thorough explanation of these paradoxical manifestations. In any case a unified type of bisexual psychopathic cannot be set up. Bang also seems not to do full justice to the complexity of the problem when he says, "A bisexual is only a homosexual who can receive purely sensual stimulation from both sexes, or to put the matter more clearly, who allows himself to be excited by women also." In the first place the whole problem is not to be exhausted by the question of purely sensual stimulation and furthermore bisexual behavior is certainly not limited to masculine homosexuals. It may be suggested perhaps that there are at least many bisexual personalities whose sexual attitude remains[82] undifferentiated and labile, and that such personalities can be swung to the heterosexual or the homosexual side according to the frame of mind at the moment and the peculiarity of any attractive personality with which they come in contact. In other words their lack of differentiation and lability might be regarded as a persisting prepu-

[82] The possibility of participation of physical intersexual factors should be mentioned.

beral phase; although frankly even this supposition does not afford a complete explanation.

H. PEDOPHILIA

In the condition of pedophilia a child or adolescent is sought as a sexual object. Relationships to homosexuality are present, as has been mentioned. In the pedophil of my observation there has existed the unmistakable tendency to assume an authoritative position with regard to the juvenile sexual partner. Thus it is immediately obvious that there are persons who feel themselves not a match for an adult sexual partner, or who as a result of this feeling, are unable to find complete satisfaction in a normal sexual relationship. The pedophilic attitude is in general I believe to be brought into relation with a self-insecurity strongly influencing the generally weak impulse-life; the pedophils immediately attract attention on account of their bashfulness. This type of pedophil develops its tendencies from its insecurity and from the resulting anxiety in regard to possible failures with adult sex-partners. Similar psychologic relations may play a rôle in certain aging and aged personalities who after experiences of sexual impotence with adult partners seek satisfaction in a pedophilic attitude and behavior. Between both of these—the insecure and the impotent—there may be found, in view of the psychological development of pedophilia, certain feeble-minded persons.

The pedophils whom I have examined were mostly male teachers or educators who came under observation because they had become criminal. Kronfeld seems to have had similar experiences; in this connection he emphasizes the significance of social factors and psychosexual infantilism.

I. PSYCHOSEXUAL INFANTILISM

Kronfeld has described as psychosexual infantilism a total organization ("Constitution") in which a chronologically adult individual combines infantile physical stigmata with psychic and psychosexual infantilisms. Psychic infantiles have been described by Anton and Di Gaspero,[83] as dependent, easily excitable persons who are readily distracted, flighty, and without constancy—they lack purposeful directedness and perseverance. Psychosexual infantilism occurs "whenever the organization of the component strivings of the sex impulse remain more or less incomplete and when single infantile partial components of this impulse persist in isolation" (Kronfeld). "In psychosexual infantilism the attachment of the sexual strivings to the genital functions may be abolished or at least partially inhibited. Here there may frequently enter a playful attitude which finds its expression not in the complete sexual act but in subordinate preparatory, partial and substitute actions" (Kronfeld). Special mention should be made of the marked sexual curiosity which is an almost constant characteristic in psychosexual infantiles, and of their curiosity in general. As determinative for the "diagnosis" Kronfeld requires side by side with the psychosexual behavior the presence of infantile physical stigmata.

The description of this particular form of infantilism in which Kronfeld assumes no single mode of genesis, is important. It is certain, however, that we are not dealing with a single constitutional type, although single types may have constitutional affiliations which make it possible to bring them into relationship with an infantilistic, constitutional form.

[83] Following Kronfeld.

Psychosexually infantile elements appear to play a rôle in all the sexually perverse, first of all in masturbators, narcists, exhibitionists, and in addition in many psychopathic personalities which are not sexually abnormal in a narrower sense. Concerning their etiology there is nothing to be added here in view of the preceding extensive discussion of sexual development. It will be readily understood that in the genesis and in the persistence of psychosexual infantilism, weakness and uncertainty of impulse are important.

K. GERONTOPHILIA

Gerontophilia is the opposite of pedophilia. In it the distinctive feature is the individual's choice of older persons of the opposite sex as sexual object. Kronfeld assumes that this perversion "is based generally on prepuberal psychic determinants in psychopathies or in psychic and psychosexual inhibitions of development." It is necessary to think also of the participation of incestuous attachments. The gerontophils also are related to the normal. It may be suggested first of all that adolescents of both sexes not infrequently form deep and more or less enduring attachments to older persons, whether of the same or of the opposite sex. This motive has been long familiar in poetry. Furthermore there are persons whose erotic-sexual affection is throughout life toward only considerably older partners. On the basis of such attitudes marriages are not infrequently entered upon, some of which run a thoroughly happy course. Also the fact, that some men in the love-choice limit themselves to widows who are no longer young, and to divorced women, may be mentioned in this connection. In all these cases a rôle is played without doubt, by the fact of "being the younger," and thus in a sense "being the child," which

points unequivocally to an attempt at a fresh realization of a child-parent fixation or to its persistence.

L. ZOÖPHILIA

Erotic and sexual relationships with animals occur almost exclusively as substitutes, in the first place in persons who are compelled to live a solitary life (herdsmen), and also as the expression of sexual surfeiting and sexual overrefinement (especially in African and Asiatic countries). The zoöphils whom we see are for the most part feeble-minded persons who execute sexual acts with animals; nevertheless masturbatory acts of zoöphilic nature are not at all unknown. Kronfeld calls attention to the fact that sadistic and masked masochistic tendencies can deviate to zoöphilia.

Allers mentions the relationships of zoöphilia to fetishism and to striking forms of passion for animals especially in old maids, and also reminds us that lovers are occasionally tender to animals and, it is true, "to persons who are for them erotically uninteresting" because "the object of their love is unattainable." It is no chance that certain fashions in animals, for example, the carrying of miniature dogs, seems to be cultivated especially by those *femmes mondaines* who, whether from weakness in impulse or from uncertainty in impulse (intersexuals), are of inharmonious sexual-erotic development.

M. FETISHISM

Bearing and voice, parts of the body and clothing, articles in daily use belonging to the beloved person, often play a very important rôle in the normal love life as "symbols of the partner as a beloved, desired, and much sought being" (Kronfeld). Kronfeld, following Binet,[84] calls this the "little fetishism." Opposed to it

[84] Quoted from Kronfeld.

are "the strictly abnormal forms of erotic and sexual fetishism in which the sexual partner disappears entirely behind the symbol, in which the symbol has in experience no longer a symbolic character and is in itself an adequate sexual stimulus" (the "great fetishism" of Binet). Allers also emphasizes the fact that the fetishes of the normal have only symbolic significance but in themselves no erotic value, whereas "for the fetishist his fetish is the ultimate sexual object." Without disputing the correctness of this distinction for extreme cases one still cannot overlook the fact that between the little and the great fetishism there are all imaginable transitional stages, not only of the manifestation but also of the inner attitude. A series may be constructed at the beginning of which the fetish represents merely a normal sexual erotic accentuation of characteristics of the love partner, which need not be symbolic, and at the end of which the fetish itself remains in reality, though certainly not in phantasy, as the only love object without any beloved person in the background.[85] This series glides over into the psychopathological where the sexual partner begins to be valued as accessory to the fetish, and where the fetish itself in form and content is foreign to normal eroticism and sexuality. At the beginning of the series is to be found emphasis of single sexual characteristics (hair, color of eyes, and especial physical traits); there follows a preference for certain parts of the body

[85] Here is to be mentioned the fetishistic coloring of the pleasure in possession of special articles, specifically also the pleasure of collecting. In a roundabout manner paths lead from this to an extreme subform of the great fetishism, love of statues (pygmalionism). Individual psychopaths (narcists) carry on an almost fetishistic cult with their clothing. There exist relationships to the transvestites who are not without fetishistic traits.

which becomes manifestly abnormal in the preference for cripples; furthermore there is the emphasis of clothing in general and in particular (shoes, underwear,[86] etc.). At the end of the series there remains worship of single articles of clothing (furs, shoes, gloves, underwear, handkerchiefs, and fragments of clothes torn or cut out), and of articles which have absolutely no personal associations or in which no such associations can be recognized. Kronfeld mentions a physician who "from his earliest youth had been excited exclusively by bicycles and more than this very particularly by the rubber tires." A railroad fetishist[87] came under my observation who always became sexually excited in a train and during the journey, as he was rocked back and forth, arrived at orgasm with ejaculation.

In our series are to be included also persons who accomplish sexual intercourse only under certain fetishistic conditions: the partner must be clad in the fetish (underclothing, stockings, shoes), must have a certain odor (personal odor or perfume—Kronfeld reports a case of Aschaffenburg's who needed for coitus the smell of petroleum). All types of odor fetishism

[86] Kronfeld adds the preference of women—in whom furthermore he finds fetishism more frequent than in men—for "uniforms, resonant voices, iron crosses, foreign races, etc." He sees in this "a border-line condition between normal fetishism and the abnormal, and furthermore a transition to sexual curiosity."

[87] The case is of a little sensitive asthenic man of thirty-three years weak in impulse and psychosexually infantile. He termed the railroad "my bride, my mistress" and spoke of it as a lover speaks of his beloved. He had already been punished thirty times for stealing rides. His attitude went back to the fact that in his sixteenth year he had experienced his first ejaculation in a gently swaying train. The more crowded the car the greater is his satisfaction. Trams and other vehicles do not excite him. He frequently has railroad dreams. There is no sexual erotic interest in men and women.

occur also in the great fetishism (*renifleurs, épongeurs*); with those persons who enjoy the odor of urine and feces there may exist relationships to masochism (urolagnia, koprolagnia).[88]

A "negative" fetish is also known which Hirschfeld described as *horror sexualis partialis.* This is a matter of a circumscript erotic-sexual aversion toward personal characteristics, articles of clothing, and of daily use (spectacles,[89] etc.). This horror occurs also within the range of the normal (aversion of many women for bearded men, repulsion by certain odors);[90] *mutatis mutandis,* the same is to be said here as was said concerning "positive" fetishism.

The majority of the "great" fetishists practice masturbation chiefly and in part exclusively, and this by the aid of their fetish. Allers doubts whether there has really "taken place a gradual displacement of value from the originally phantasied sexual object to its representative, the fetish." He feels it necessary to assume a fundamental distinction between the little and the great fetishism which latter he considers not to be completely explained genetically.

Certainly the development of the fetishistic attitude goes back to experiences, reinforced to be sure by the

[88] Here should be remembered juvenile and adolescent psychopaths who play with feces; they are related to enuretics. Rehm attempted to delimit them as a definite psychopathic type.

[89] I examined a case which I should like to mention here although it is not that of a psychopath but that of a schizophrenic. A young man repeatedly attacked older women on the street because they wore spectacles. He had made a little notch at the bridge of his nose in order to give the impression that he wore glasses—that was a part of his masculine ideal.

[90] It is well known that the sense of smell plays a rôle in the realm of sexual attraction and repulsion. The expression that one "can't stand the smell" of a person goes back to this fact.

persistence of a corresponding infantile capacity for experience, and the defective sexual development essential to the fixation of such experiences, that is by psychosexually infantile components. More or less marked psychosexual infantilism is a common characteristic of the otherwise variedly structured fetishists.[91]

In connection with fetishism *nekrophilia* must be mentioned, by which perversion there is to be understood the inclination to sexual intercourse with cadavers. Kronfeld doubts whether this ever occurs in the strict sense; he mentions the case of a psychopath whose sexual partner was required always to feign to be dead or fast asleep. I recall a description of a Parisian brothel which was said to have cultivated an atmosphere of the grave, created by the appropriate make-up of the prostitutes and by the aid of lighting effects and coffins (in the place of couches). I have observed a man[92] of thirty-five years who had masturbated from his twelfth year on and had accustomed himself in his sixteenth year after having seen the dead body of a woman beautifully laid out, to masturbate while visualizing or occasionally also while looking at the dead bodies of women. He preferred masturbation in his marital life "because it made him less trouble than intercourse"; and under the influence of alcohol but not in a condition of intoxication managed to gain entrance into a morgue where he bared the bodies of women and children and masturbated touch-

[91] It may be mentioned that fetishism is not infrequent in psychoses, for example in schizophrenia, and often enters into very complicated symbolic connections.

[92] The case was published by Grünthal. The person concerned was an excitable, occasionally brutal, primitive psychopath with marked psychosexual infantile traits (masturbation, sexual curiosity). It is to be noted that the man lived in his childhood near a cemetery.

ing them; complete coitus he denied. We considered this case as corpse fetishism (nekrofetishism).

The situation may be similar in many cases which are described in literature. It is not to be disputed that an attraction to corpses may be associated with sadistic features (feeling of facing a subjugated person, bestial behavior to dead bodies); such cases are reported by Krafft-Ebing. Because of the rarity and questionability of such cases there is no need to discuss them here.[93]

The relationships of fetishism to criminality deserve a few remarks. In the first place fetish thieves are to be considered, that is men who steal their fetish, and further those who during the theft experience sexual excitement and orgasm.[94] Doubtless many swindlers are included here; however, there are cases who need a very thoroughgoing analysis and certainly have no immediate claim to legal exculpation.

Persons who cut off pigtails and slit up clothes are also fetishists, in whom as in other fetishistic and non-fetishistic *saboteurs*[95] there are regularly to be found sadistic elements side by side with psychosexual infantilism. In such personalities the origin and development of the perversion may frequently be followed very clearly.

N. EXHIBITIONISM

By exhibitionism in the strict sense is to be understood the display of the genitalia[96] for the purpose of

[93] It is sufficient here to list the terms occurring in the literature: vampirism, nekromania, nekrosadism, nekrostuprum, nekrophagia, nekrofetishism. A case of pseudonekrophilia, a manic patient, has been published by Rittershaus.

[94] Cf. p. 94. [95] Cf. the case mentioned on p. 122.

[96] A special kind of exhibition is the inclination occasionally found in men to appear naked before women out of doors (adamism).

sexual satisfaction. In this act which is much more frequent in the male than in the female, the genital is usually in the condition of excitement. If ejaculation and orgasm do not follow spontaneously this is frequently assisted by masturbation.

The concept of exhibitionism has been very considerably extended so that today real exhibitionism represents the extreme special case. Freud taught that in sexual development the pleasure to see (sexual curiosity) and the pleasure to show occur relatively early as "component impulses"; later they are taken up together with the other component impulses into the sex impulse; but they may exist more or less independently as an infantile regression. Even though not accepting this psychoanalytical conception in all particulars one cannot doubt that certain correct observations have been made here. Curiosity as to the appearance of the genitalia in the other sex, the desire to see them, and the readiness to show one's own in return, occur early and occasionally play a part even in the fully developed sex impulse. Sexual erotic stimulation through the baring and through emphasized concealment of the body has always been an important factor in fashion. Now occasionally there is brought into relationship with exhibitionism, side by side with the more or less extensive baring of the body a baring of the soul.[97] This seems to me not entirely incorrect. It is scarcely to be disputed that the desire to see is concealed behind the curiosity of many men concerning the eroticism and sexuality of others and their constant busying of themselves exclusively with the sexual. On this account, however, it is not possible to regard all curiosity as a disguised sexual attitude.

[97] It is certainly extreme when the Freudian School finds in every baring of the psyche sublimated (repressed) exhibitionism.

The exhibitionistic act is fundamentally a sexual preparatory and substitute action, "a sexual act remaining rudimentary" (Kronfeld). The onlooker—exhibitionists prefer younger girls—has only the task of exciting and it is not necessary to complete the act. Thus the infantile nature of the act and, together with it, of the whole attitude is clarified. Actually this is evident in all exhibitionistic psychopaths,[98] in whom general inhibitions of development, bashfulness, defiance, and not infrequently a childishly exaggerated sense of shame were observed long ago. Staehelin found among thirty-one psychopathic exhibitionists different types which showed infantile psychic traits; this was especially the case in the group which he called the "typical exhibitionists, who to a greater or lesser degree unite in themselves all the characteristics of exhibitionists."[99]

On the basis of this type of infantilistic-psychopathic make-up there are brought about both an exaggeration of the feeling of inferiority already present and habit-

[98] Exhibitionism in mental disease is not to be discussed here. The theory that exhibitionism is an epileptic symptom has long been replaced by the conception that many epileptics perform exhibitionistic acts; but this also is inexact. I have never seen an epileptic exhibitionist. In epileptic clouding of consciousness such acts may occur, nevertheless they are certainly infrequent. Staehelin found among his seventy exhibitionists only one epileptic and one feeble-minded with epileptiform seizures and aura. Kronfeld thinks the "fact that the exhibitionistic urge represents very frequently a sort of endogenous passion" (*Brunst*), has led to its being regarded as an epileptic equivalent.

[99] "They were supersensitive, shy, sometimes submissive, sometimes weakly combative, clumsy, evasive of unpleasantnesses, jealous, weak-willed, fussy, pedantic, sometimes anxious, timid, and modest, sometimes boasting and vain, and markedly dependent on moods. All masturbated intensively and were exaggeratedly shamefaced" (Staehelin).

ual exhibitionism as an "infantile impulsive attitude, or as a protest, or as a means of exciting attention" (Staehelin). Particular experiences and unusual environmental influences—for example, brutal fathers, harsh or too weak mothers—play a rôle in this development.

Most exhibitionists seem to believe or to make themselves believe that they give pleasure to their onlookers by their exhibition or else that they do them neither harm nor injustice. Others accompany their exhibition with insults and threats; very rarely sexual attacks occur at the close of the period of exhibition; in this aggressive attitude it is possible to see a sadistic inclusion.

The claim of exhibitionists that they are acting under the influence of an irresistible urge should be received with great caution; still occasionally there seem to be present strong "urgeory"[100] sexual tensions. Nevertheless exculpation is to be considered only in rare cases.

Triolism is related to exhibitionism; this is the "tendency to perform the sexual act with several partners, or in the presence of several partners" (Kronfeld). With this is connected also *voyeurism,* the tendency to be the witness of sexual processes. *Triolism* and *voyeurism* play scarcely any part in our discussion; Kronfeld is inclined to explain their origin on the basis of hunger for sexual stimulation and over-refinement.[101]

[100] See p. 80.

[101] Among Kronfeld's triolists there were, in addition to healthy persons, two high-grade imbeciles. His *voyeurs* were all "entirely healthy persons with slight excitability in their sexual phantasies and a certain inclination to masturbation." He is of the opinion that *voyeurism,* is "no more 'abnormal' than the inclination to sexual chatter, obscenity and smutty jokes."

O. ALGOLAGNIA (SADISM AND MASOCHISM)

In place of the terms used by Krafft-Ebing, sadism (following the Marquis de Sade) and masochism (following the writer von Sacher-Masoch), Eulenburg employed the inclusive term algolagnia,[102] two subdivisions of which, active and passive algolagnia, are to replace the two old names. "It is a matter of the origin of sexual satisfaction through the endurance or infliction of pain and torture" (Kraepelin). Sadistic and masochistic features occur very often together and not solely in algolagnics in the strict sense. It is not necessary to go as far as did Apfelbach, who entirely separated the concepts of sadism and masochism from sexuality, and wished to consider them under the conception of psychomodality as characteristic of the nature of master and slave. Nevertheless it is impossible to avoid seeking and finding roots and effects of algolagnia also outside the obvious range of sexual activity and sexual attitudes.

From this it is an easy step to the association of active algolagnia with the masculine joy of aggression (*Angriffslust,* cf. Bostroem) and the passive with feminine submission. In this way, furthermore, one can do a certain justice to the fact that usually the man is not exclusively aggressive, the woman not exclusively devoted, in total behavior, especially in sexual behavior; and to the further fact that in a broader sense of the word feminine elements are found or are to be expected in the man, and masculine elements in the woman (Weininger). The occurrence of these characteristics in many intersexuals (Mathes, Hirschfeld) may be considered as assured. It is a question, however, whether in masculine aggression, or in aggression in

[102] Algos = pain, lagneia = lust.

general, and in feminine devotion or in devotion in general, there is contained a tendency to cruelty or a tendency to suffer from cruelty. Kronfeld explains that to cruelty "belong, psychologically speaking, pleasure in the defenselessness and a pleasure-gain from the defenselessness in which the victim is exposed to the impulsive activity of the cruel person. A pleasure of this kind in defenselessness is in nowise essential to sexual aggression." Kronfeld, however, considers a "close psychological relationship" to be granted and "its explanation of a common root" to be intelligible.

Indeed in the tendency to overpower and in the tendency to be overpowered lies the deep kinship between aggression and cruelty on the one hand, between devotion and suffering from cruelty on the other. The defenselessness of the "victim" even in sadists is not assumed from the start, but instead is brought about through the act of overpowering whether it be actual or more or less played; and *vice versa* the masochist is not defenseless from the start but instead allows his defenses to be torn from him or pleasurably refuses to defend himself. In a broader sense there is cruelty in every aggression because it is always directed in some sense *against* the physical or psychic sphere of another or of several other persons. Conversely, submission to every aggression involves suffering, whether this suffering be pleasantly or unpleasantly colored because the object of the aggression must thus regularly experience an injury. At all events corresponding to its make-up the attitude of the object of the aggression must decide whether it wishes to yield and suffer further, or whether it wishes to defend itself against the perpetrator of the aggression and so to cause suffering to the perpetrator.

It cannot be doubted that aggression and devotion are rooted in the impulse-life; they spread throughout its whole structure. In the impulse to self-preservation, aggression and devotion are just as evident as in the sex impulse. Furthermore the personality shows aggressive as well as submissive behavior in its impulse to self-development; in other words: the personality may conflict with others in the course of its development and may take refuge in indulgent regard or in teeth-gnashing withdrawal. This may be illustrated by an example: creative men are occasionally observed who are handicapped in self-development by their female partners. But the present concern is only the principle, and not whether and to what extent with these "handicaps" the aggression in their impulse to self-development is too slight to succeed against the aggressive injury of the female partner.

It is possible to place the situation in a still broader setting and to say that from the impulse bases there are in all life struggle and suffering. The words "to live means to be a fighter" and "to live is to suffer" are equally valid.

Returning to algolagnia after this digression we come directly to the fact that fighting and suffering, aggression and devotion (submission), cruelty and endurance, are unavoidably of extreme importance even in the sex life of animals and of primitive men; furthermore that these two opposites are never entirely lacking in the sexuality of the individual and that they lend to it frequently a rather univocal emphasis. In one direction they reach deeply into sexuality and into the special sexual processes. On the other side they maintain in many connections actually or apparently no direct relationship with the sexual, and yet there exists still a relationship to sexuality which often may be

only symbolic. This relationship may be characterized generally by reference to the fact that the sexual is always contained in the total impulse-life, although it is not emphasized in every expression of impulse.

From these remarks it is obvious that sadistic torture and masochistic suffering are not limited to the physical preparation for and accomplishment of the sex act, but instead reach deeply into the psyche.

Aggression and devotion are to be regarded from the general point of view of the sexual life of man and woman, not as quantitative factors but as directional factors. The presupposition that the man is erotically-sexually aggressive and that the woman is erotically-sexually passive, does not mean that the former must be strong in impulse, the latter weak in impulse. In their ideal types men and women are both impulsively strong in their respective aggression and devotion. This, however, does not go over immediately into sadism and masochism.

In certain men with sadistic tendencies it is possible to see a sharpening of the aggressive principle in the manner of their preparation for and completion of the sexual act; in some masochistic women there is to be found the opposite in the manner of their physical surrender. Such facts belong for the most part still within the range of normal sexuality which is not to be too narrowly delimited; they are merely special emphases of aggression and submission. But the prominent manifestation of torturing and allowing one's self to be tortured in the sexual relationships drifts over directly into the psychopathic. In this the impulse quantity in itself may be as little prominent as the fundamental erotic-sexual attitude. Then there are to be mentioned men of considerable strength of sexual impulse whose aggression enjoys the opposition of the woman and is

accustomed to break it down in a sadistic manner. The ruthlessness and unscrupulousness of many brutal "heart-breakers" should be mentioned here. Their analogy exists in women who like to be taken with a sort of violence and wish to taste thoroughly the experience of being (brutally) overpowered. That at the end of this series there are to be found men and women whose pleasure in aggression and submission reaches an extreme degree is beyond question. A discussion of technical details of erotic-sexual mastering and submission in these types can be omitted here.

Thus far we have had in mind impulsively strong men and women whose sadistically or masochistically colored pleasure in aggression or devotion represents the expression in mastery or submission corresponding to the attitude appropriate to their sex. In the great majority of masculine or feminine algolagnics, however, there is a relative weakness or uncertainty in impulse. From this develops a feeling of self-insecurity which can work out in different ways: either it is overcompensated by the striving for power in the sense of sexual mastery; or it is drawn into the system of ego-purposes in masochistic submission, as well on the side of the striving for appreciation (egocentricity)[103] as on the side of the striving for impuissance. In the impuissance of extreme masochists, male and female, there may be contained always some satisfaction because of the uniqueness of their experience; they enjoy being "different from the others."[104]

The masochistic woman and the sadistic man will be always more accessible to direct understanding, even though in the former the desire for appreciation and

[103] I must bring in here anticipatory character attitudes which are discussed at length in chapter vii.

[104] Cf. chap. vii.

impuissance, and in the latter overcompensation, are unmistakable. To the extent to which men are masochistic in the strict sense of the word, and to the extent to which women are sadistic, there is to be found in both—without forgetting the attitudes already mentioned—a protest against their sexual rôle. Behind this as causal is to be suspected and is often enough demonstrable not only the impulsive deviations which have been discussed, but also peculiarities of temperament and physically and psychically intersexual elements. More concretely: the man who slavishly submits, evading normal intercourse, worshiping his mistress from afar in masochistic phantasies, or allowing himself in reality to be chastised and chained and "treated like a dog," shows as a rule not only psychosexually infantile but also very clearly feminine traits. Conversely the masterful mistress with the whip, who exists not only in pornographic literature, is frequently a very virile female in whom yielding or devotion are hard to conceive even if she should wish to renounce the overcompensatory realization of her will to power. It is important for the understanding of the significance of intersexual components in these algolagnics that the majority of them obtain sexual satisfaction in the fancied and in the real experience of chastening or maltreatment without sexual intercourse. There are also men and women who need very considerable algolagnistic preparatory and accompanying acts in the occasional accomplishment of sexual union.

I consider the assumption to be justified that the causal-final relationships just discussed are significant also for personalities which are in a high degree torturers and sufferers, especially torturers of themselves, without, however, showing in their actual sexual life essential algolagnistic features that can be recog-

nized. Certainly elements of algolagnistic overcompensation as an overflow of the psychopathic will to power are present in many men, who maltreat women psychically through worry, jealousy, and so on. This is similarly and more strikingly the case in women who make the lives of their husbands or lovers a realistic hell, torturing them through jealousy or through excessive financial or social demands and the like.[105] On the other hand the self-torturing personality—whether male or female—like the types already mentioned, is frequently at variance with itself for reasons springing from the physique and the impulses, and makes peculiar efforts to bring its causal disintegration into final equilibrium.[106] Important in all these types are self-insecurity and feelings of inferiority founded in lack of symmetry in the physical and impulse life—and may I repeat—frequently enough standing in demonstrable relation to the physical intersexuality. In this way the combination of sadistic and masochistic features in men and women becomes comprehensible, as well as the tendency of such persons to masked and unmasked cruelty, to envy (resentment), revenge, bitterness, and hatred of mankind (Kronfeld).

It is possible to understand as *impulsory algolagnia*[107] the simple intensification to sadism and masochism of masculine aggressiveness (up to the point of physical injury and lust-murder) and of feminine submission (up to the extent of the endurance of the most extreme physical maltreatment). In contradistinction

[105] This matter will be discussed again in the section concerning hysterical personalities.

[106] Attention is called particularly to our discussion concerning anancastic psychopaths. Cf. the writings of O. Kant concerning the experience of guilt and aggression in depression.

[107] Kronfeld distinguishes impulsive and neurotic sadism.

it is possible to understand the other forms as *dystonic*[108] *algolagnia* including those in which the relationship to the physical sexual is nonexistent or at least not demonstrable. In the case of impulsory algolagnia, the phenomena have grown directly from the impulse-life, whereas in the dystonic form the final transformations have taken place on the basis of a psychopathic character make-up. In all this the fact is not to be overlooked that combinations of impulsory and dystonic algolagnia are frequent.

It is beyond doubt that in the development of dystonic algolagnics experiences are formative and that in them often the child-parent fixation (incest-complex) persists and operates.

Reference has been made repeatedly to the fact that there are many relationships between the various perversions. Frequently several perversions are present in the same personality. Algolagnistic traits and attitudes are especially frequent in company with other perversions.[109] There are sadistic and masochistic homosexuals; the manner of the submission of many "urnings" is in itself usually of masochistic coloring. Sadistic features are recognizable in many fetishists (*saboteurs,* those who cut off pigtails and slit up clothes, etc.), and masochistic features in others (urophilia, koprophilia, etc.); it may be said that there are algolagnics with fetishistic tendencies. In exhibitionism there is occasionally found an active algolagnistic element but the passive is more frequent. In zoöphilia the sexual cruelty may come to light very clearly. Sadistic coloring is not at all foreign to pedophilia;

[108] I designate as dystonic, to employ an expression of Bostroem's, the psychopathic from the point of view of the character.

[109] Auto-eroticism, exhibitionism, and algolagnia occur together in the so-called "poison letter" sadism and masochism.

some sadistic pedagogues[110] who delight in cudgeling could be regarded as paradoxical pedophils. The so-called autosadists show particular preference for homosexual, exhibitionistic, and fetishistic tendencies; in them passive and active algolagnia are present side by side.

It may suffice to refer once more to these relationships and associations, and to remark that always although in varying degree, psychosexual infantilism plays a rôle. This fact makes evident also, from this angle, the significance of inhibitions of development for any occurrence of sexual deviations.

[110] Kronfeld is right in stressing the sadistic conditioning of many acts of brutality, occasionally recognizable as sexual substitutes, partially accomplished "without any relationship to sexual excitement" (such as maltreatment of children, pupils, soldiers) but also "delight in getting dirty and preference for bloody sports." As a parallel it may be remarked here that in some "impulsory" crimes (thefts, etc.), there may enter masochistic attitudes as a result of which the torturing fear of capture, the disgrace of criminal proceedings, and infliction of punishment (but on the other hand also the sadistic disgracing of a beloved or hated person) may be pleasurably sought and enjoyed. Furthermore the frequently claimed tickling (which often is consciously fabricated) in the act of stealing may be occasionally of algolagnistic coloring.

CHAPTER VI

PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES CONSIDERED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF TEMPERAMENT

Psychopathic Temperament Types (Dysthymics)

INTRODUCTORY

THE discussion in the preceding chapter concerns psychopathic types that show peculiarities on the side of impulse or on the impulse level. There are now to be considered those types whose peculiarity lies exclusively or preëminently in the realm of temperament,[1] that is in the middle level of the personality structure. These will be designated as *dysthymics* or *dysthymic types*[2] in order to have a convenient name.

The present intention is not to set up new dysthymic types; there would be scarcely one such type which had not previously been described. We do not hope by enumerating types to attain completeness, or the inclusion of everything that belongs here. We should like to avoid furthermore a fitting of dysthymic types into our schema as a sort of *tour de force.* The intention is merely to present the most important of these from the standpoint of our schema, to evaluate them by its standard. It is quite possible that as a result this schema also will offer only a relative usefulness. That clinical psychiatry in the strict sense relative to its task has handled the dysthymic types in a sort of step-

[1] See the discussion of temperament, p. 42.

[2] This term has been used by Wilmanns and occasionally also by other authors.

motherly fashion is as little to be disputed as the bias with which the schools of the depth of psychology have appeared to avoid, frequently almost with anxiety, the facts pertaining to temperament. From our fundamental standpoint it becomes necessary to consider the personality in its various aspects, *multidimensionally* or *by structural analysis.* Thus there springs once more as a complication of our temperament schema the necessity of using even within the middle stratum of the personality a structurally analytical or multidimensional point of view. For the temperament of a personality has a construction[3] which makes it impossible to consider it as a single factor, necessitating instead that it be regarded somewhat as a formula for the total equation of the personality. But within the "temperament formula" it is sometimes one factor sometimes another which gives to the personality in its temperament aspect its peculiar stamp, without, however, rendering other factors insignificant. If a man has "no temperament" in the current sense of the word, that is no less significant for the construction of the personality than the possession of "temperament." To have "no temperament" means not that the temperament stratum of such personalities is empty, but merely that as compared with the average there is a quantitative and negative deviation. It means, so to speak, temperament with a minus sign.

The attempt will be made to divide dysthymic manifestations into groups and subgroups on the basis of factors found to prevail in the individual types. It is obvious that it would be possible to try to do this in other ways; nevertheless we believe that our attempt

[3] The extent to which Birnbaum, Klages, Ewald, and also Kretschmer have contributed to our temperament schema is we believe so evident that it may be unnecessary to express that in detail.

has a certain justification with the state of our present knowledge.

From the multidimensionality of temperament it follows that, side by side with the "simple temperament types," for example, the excitable or the cheerful whose ranking in our temperament schema becomes immediately clear, there exist more complicated temperament types, for example, the excitably cheerful. Not only may a person be in a temporarily or permanently variable mood but he also may be in some degree *excitable,* and express his affects in a tempo, vigor, and form corresponding to his nature.

Reference may be made here to earlier remarks[4] to avoid a more extensive exposition of theoretical bases such as was necessary in the preceding chapter. There the relative limitation of types presented seemed to render desirable a discursive theoretical discussion of the impulsive basis; here there are types in abundance from which the conclusions can be derived.

The dysthymic types for practical reasons will be divided into three groups: the hyperthymic,[5] the hypothymic,[6] and the poikilothymic.[7] The description of the

[4] P. 42.

[5] I may say that the terms are free of any prejudicial relationship to manic depressive insanity. Here the concern is primarily the setting-up of dysthymic psychopathic types, however there may come in here and there discussion of relationships to the great clinical disease groups or constitutional cycles, but only secondarily.

[6] We include among the hyperthymic deviations of the temperament components in the sense of an increase from the "normal" ("positive" deviations) in contradistinction to the hypothymic ("negative" deviations). In this there is, to be sure, a certain compromise, in that the classification proceeds from present empirical types, which, as already mentioned, it would be possible to combine also in other ways.

[7] In zoölogy the term poikilothermic is used to designate animals whose blood temperature swings between cold and warm. Analo-

Types of Psychopathic Temperament (Dysthymics)

		2. Affectivity (emotionality)				
		a. Excitability (reactive affectivity, temperament in the strict sense)	*b. Inner course (affective resonance, affectivity)*	*c. Expression (nature)*		
	1. Fundamental and life mood			*tempo*	*vigor*	*form*
1. hyperthymic						
a. vivacious (tachythymic)	.....	easily excitable	.....	quick	.....	versatile
b. excitable	.....	easily excitable	.....	quick	.....	.....
c. explosive	.....	easily excitable	.....	quick	strong	jerky
d. irritable quarrelsome (eristhic)	irritated	easily excitable	.....	quick	strong	.....
e. cheerful (euphoric)	cheerful	easily excitable	.....	quick	strong	versatile
2. hypothymic						
A. athymic						
f. phlegmatic	.....	difficultly excitable	.....	slow	.....	clumsy
g. torpid	.....	difficultly excitable	lacking or superficial	slow	.....	clumsy
h. affectively poor	.....	difficultly excitable	lacking or superficial	.....	.....	.....
i. affectively void (affectless)	.....	not excitable	lacking or superficial	.....	.....	.....
B. dysphoric						
k. anxious	anxious	.....	.....	.....	weak	.....
l. ill-humored	ill-humored	.....	superficial	slow	weak	clumsy
m. gloomy	gloomy	.....	.....	slow	weak	clumsy
3. poikilothymic						
n. autochthonously labile in mood	changeable	changeable	changeable	changeable	changeable	changeab
o. reactively labile in mood sensitive	changeable	changeable	.....	.....	.....	versatile

types may be preceded by a schema as a sort of survey. In this schema the rubrics will be filled out only to the extent of representing "pure" types; in the sense of the above remarks this is an abstraction. It is to be repeated that in the present description (and even less in the present schema) no claim to completeness is possible or intended.

Hyperthymic and hypothymic as well as poikilothymic factors—brought to a normal denominator—are present in every personality. It is obvious in view of the present conception that the boundaries of the temperamental psychopaths flow over into the range of the normal and that the differentiation of the three major groups, as well as of the subgroups, is merely an abstraction from the point of view of types and may not be represented by sharply drawn boundary lines. However we may endeavor to establish possibilities of sharp distinction and however we may desire for structurally analytic reasons not only to set up a schema but also to establish it, nevertheless this schema must remain secondary: we face the individual personality with unembarrassed empiricism. We have no desire to tear the personality to bits in order to incorporate it in our schema, but wish instead merely to measure it according to the possibilities of the schema.

1. *The Hyperthymic*

It appears, generally speaking, that all hyperthymics have in common a "vivacious" temperament. They are united especially by an increase in excitability, that is in reactive affectivity which only in certain cheerful personalities is not necessarily increased or

gously, I have built the word poikilothymic (*poikilos* = varied, *thymos* = mind) to designate types of personalities whose emotional tone swings between plus and minus.

strikingly increased, and by a vivacious tempo in temperamental expression which is found in almost all of them. In other words: all or nearly all hyperthymics are excitable and of a vivacious nature. The multitude of variations which exist among individual hyperthymics is evident from a glance at the schema; they will be discussed at greater length in the individual descriptions. Respecting the affective resonance, and the vigor and form of the nature nothing can be said in advance which would be true of all hyperthymics.

A. THE VIVACIOUS (TACHYTHYMIC)[8]

In the vivacious hyperthymic we have in mind a type which has been designated occasionally as "motor nature."[9] They are persons who are distinguished[10] by the vivacity of their movements—by a habitual hyperkinesis. It is impossible for them to remain sitting for any length of time; they must be "always on the go." They are vivacious, usually expressive and completely natural mimics, they like to talk, producing their utterances in quick tempo; they accompany their remarks and occasionally also the remarks of others with gestures and pantomime. Sometimes they get up during an entertainment and walk up and down while listening. Some of them jokingly call themselves "peripatetic." The observation of an audience or of a social group is particularly interesting in this connection. I believe that there should be included here much "nervous" play during work and entertainment, such as

[8] The term "tachythymic" is selected because it is readily added to the other "thymic." Further explanation of this term is scarcely demanded.

[9] *Bewegungsnaturell.*

[10] Thiele speaks of the "familiar and widespread type of over-vivacious, overactive, 'agile' psychopaths."

playing with pencil or paper knife, with key ring, or spectacles, ordering of articles on the desk, of clothing, taking out of the handkerchief merely to brush the face or mouth or forehead, playful fingering of books and papers, and much else. Some of these motions are to be understood now and then as "movements of embarrassment." However, the fact is not to be mistaken that the vivacious, in the strict sense, rarely exhibit gestures of embarrassment. Many peculiarities of movement in the tachythymic can become fixed habits or actually stereotyped, for example, a certain manner of adjusting the spectacles. It is possible to regard the overactivity or wealth of motion in these persons as a direct expression of a particular temperament, instead of attempting to trace back every individual movement to a psychic conscious or unconscious condition. This is not to say that certain of their movements may not be conditioned by complexes.[11]

The movements of the vivacious are in general rapid. For example, they cannot go upstairs slowly and they frequently have a very good tempo in walking. They enjoy "racing their engine"; certainly many passionate sportsmen are to be included among them. The vigor of their movements is variable and seems to be dependent on many factors of their total constitution. The same is true of the form of their movements: many of the vivacious are markedly gracious, others fidgety ("nervous"), and others again abrupt and awkward.

[11] The psychoanalytic example is often given and ridiculed of the woman who was said to make known her inclination to sexual intercourse by the opening and closing of her hand bag. It would be absurd to so interpret every movement of this kind, but it must be admitted nevertheless that such a movement may at times have this or a related significance. This is occasionally true also of the movement of these tachythymics.

They have in common a gradually changing excitability to which or at least to part of which they are able to give motor discharge.

As to mood, no unified characterization is possible. There are good-humored and dysphoric among them and others with extremely facile vacillations of mood.[12]

In general the vivacious seem to be affectively well resonant; still one designation of this type from the point of view of affective resonance is the less permissible in that undoubtedly there may occur in them also a very slight resonance.

The vivacious are closely related to the so-called nervous; it is all the same whether one prefers to assert that many nervous are vivacious or that many vivacious tend to nervousness. It could be said perhaps that those tachythymics who understand how to give free vent to their motor[13] in a natural manner tend the least to nervousness. The fact cannot be overlooked that under certain circumstances the vivacity may become a stimulus to the interpolation of nervous phenomena. On the other hand some vivacious may appear nervous without being nervous in the strict sense.[14]

There exists among the tachythymic no uniformity of physique. It is to be said certainly with caution that from the point of view of the form of movement those pyknics which belong here are distinguished more by roundness and smoothness; and the leptosomes, some

[12] It is readily understood that in depressive moods the vivacity of the motion is more or less limited. In irritable mood there is frequently an increase of the wealth of movement with a tendency to motor discharge.

[13] By "motor" is meant here the total conception of the capacity for movement.

[14] It is not to be overlooked that relationships exist between nervousness, tachythymia, and endocrine disturbances (thyrotoxicosis, Graves' disease).

by marked grace, others by equally marked lack of grace.

The tachythymics here concerned are not to be considered from the point of view of brain localization with respect to their hyperkinetic motor. Nevertheless it may be surmised that transitional stages occur from the habitual hyperkinesis of this type to more general and to tic-like movements which may perhaps have basis in constitutional changes of the extrapyramidal system. I am thinking of the general hyperkinesis of some erethics (excitables), especially also of the so-called versatile feeble-minded whose relationship to constitutional disturbance in the extrapyramidal system may be considered as definitely established on the basis of tics of the face and other portions of the body, and of choreiform, and athetoid movements (Bostroem). However, it must be said that the hyperkinesis of these cases may be explained by saying that the impulsions to motion do not run a smooth course but instead remain stuck and produce a secondary, more general hyperkinesis by the deviation of the movement primarily intended. There is the further fact that these patients occasionally learn to build their disturbances of direct extrapyramidal condition into a system of originally spontaneous movements which becomes readily fixed. In this system they attempt often with success to conceal their disturbances from themselves and others (Guttmann). It is different with our tachythymics whose "urge" to movement, as far as it be possible to speak of an urge to movement, must be regarded as the emanation of the total personality, particularly of the temperament stratum of the total personality. There their movements are neither organically compulsive nor conditioned by psychic compulsion although the possibility is to be considered that

single movements may now and then be secondarily compulsively fixed.

If the attempt be made to understand or explain the vivacity of this type on the basis of the temperament stratum, as is to be assumed from the preceding remarks, their physical conditioning or the necessity for a physical conditioning is to be borne in mind. This is the more essential in that the temperament does not glide like a spirit over the water but instead must be conceived as rooted and anchored in the physique. The brief remark may be in place that not only is the psychic formative for the motor but the motor also on its side is formative for the psychic. Concretely: the vivacious are hyperkinetic not merely because they are temperamentally versatile but also because their vivacity is stimulated and increased by their hyperkinesis. One has to consider that impulsive factors participate here, and that in some way or other the vivacity of this and related temperaments rests on or is fed from the source of the impulse to motion, the relationship of which to our three cardinal impulses has already been discussed.[15]

The peculiarity of the tachythymics which is conditioned by their temperament and by their nature (*Naturell*) is in nowise exhausted in their physical mobility. They are also—on the side of temperament—mobile and dextrous in their psychic processes, and thus often strikingly capable of entering into relationship with the things and persons of the environment. This increased capacity to meet people may be positively accentuated from the side of affect if a corresponding affective resonance is present. If this is not the case, or not markedly the case, these types remain superficial with respect to everything and in relationship

[15] Cf. p. 86.

to everybody, and show a very pronounced flightiness, sometimes even an intense desultoriness which not infrequently appears as a volatile busyness without any particular content. Here are to be included personalities who rush from one thing to another, stick to nothing, apparently "forgetting" much, as a result of their overactivity, which may reach the extent of restless haste. They may have and may create great difficulties in social adjustment. On the other hand those mobile types must be recalled in whom well-developed affective resonance and good or even high intelligence render their industry not only socially useful but—especially in favorable surroundings—even highly valuable. There are tachythymics who, through their untiring mobility and never failing industry, are able to further and to carry through in a remarkable way an enterprise undertaken by themselves or by others. To such persons it is actually a joy to accomplish at one and the same time a thousand nothingnesses. They serve the whole, are best where there is the most active "business" and where they can be themselves "very busy."

Here the transitional stages to the cheerful and to the hypomanic psychopaths become evident and they will be discussed later. The same direction is indicated by a peculiar variety of these tachythymics, that is those who make a bizarre or grotesque, sometimes even clownlike, impression, as a result of the mercurial excess of their mobility and not least of their mimicry, as well as by the rapid tempo of their psychic processes. When such tachythymics are cheerful and have a sense of humor they are born comedians and buffoons.

Whereas the remarks concerning the relationship between the cheerful and the vivacious will be considered later in greater detail it should be stated here on prin-

ciple why both of these types are different from each other in their pure forms. Both are distinguished by temperamental peculiarities; yet these peculiarities in the vivacious arise from the nature; in the cheerful, the mood. It is thus evident that transitions and combinations may and must occur.

It is possible here merely to mention the fact that in these tachythymics the character direction is of the highest significance.

B. THE EXCITABLE

The excitable psychopaths[16] claim much space in literature. They are distinguished by the particularly high degree of their reactive affectivity. Many of the excitables exist in a condition of permanent emotional high tension which breaks out on slight occasions in the form of states of excitement usually of short but sometimes of long duration.

The excitability of this type is of no absolute degree; it is not only markedly dependent on other structural ingredients of their temperament, but also on their particular character and this is especially related to the ways in which excitability is manifested. Self-control enables some of these excitables to appear outwardly calm although they are able only with extreme difficulty to suppress the discharge of their tension. Not infrequently the signs of their suppressed excitement are evident in the corporeality; blanching or blushing, trembling, rapid breathing, motor manifestations of various kinds may serve to relieve a tendency to inner excitement without the development of an actual state of excitement. Cases are observed which are able to store up their excitement, that is they are able in the moment of crisis to prevent the discharge but later per-

[16] Cf. p. 20.

haps when they are alone or in an indifferent or less dangerous environment they may give vent to the accumulated tension by scolding, shouting, blustering, and now and then by the destruction of articles, or even by becoming aggressive. Some excitables who maintain a composure in a foreign environment deport themselves at home completely without inhibition; an excitable veteran who brutally maltreated his wife declared in answer to my remonstrance: "On whom then am I to take out my rage?" That is a very typical case: the anger that one "has to take out" expresses itself in the direction of the least danger and the least resistance. In such behavior there is reason to seek a certain degree of intention: the excitability or the state of excitement is not only present but must also be demonstrated. In connection with our final remarks this will be mentioned again.

This leads to the excitables who actually "pump up affect" in order to develop a really impressive state of excitement; the so-called "wild man" belongs here. The "wild man" and his different variations are in nowise pure fake although the switching on of the condition of excitement lies in the will of the persons who develop it and who presumably are all excitable. If the course of such excitement is once initiated it is not always easy for the excited person to strangle it at any moment; in an important group of cases it is remarkable what an extreme degree of excitement can cease promptly in an appropriate environment (an environment which ignores); others work out more gradually.

The fundamental mood in the excitable is not at all uniform. Perhaps there is a predominance of types with an indifferent mood. Others will be discussed later.

Furthermore no rule can be given for the affective

resonance of the excitables. Very primitive excitables have frequently very little affective resonance and in them can be observed a very superficial course of the inner psychic processes—they show little inner concern. Their states of excitement appear definitely "biological" and recall childish outbursts of excitement; in these cases the "after-trembling" of past excitement is mostly lacking. Others show various degrees of affective resonance, are strongly stirred by exciting stimuli and have not entirely worked up their excitement even after the waves of excitement seem to have ebbed again. Those among them whose resonance is marked by a certain gentleness and warmth suffer occasionally subsequent to their excitement, become remorseful and beg forgiveness. The remorse occasionally may be feigned.

In their nature also the excitables have little in common. Their psychic tempo is, to be sure, relatively often rapid but on the other hand it is not infrequently average, now and then even slow. There are also excitables of usually slow tempo whose expression seems to be accelerated within the excitement itself. Others are only loud and brutal. With regard to the vigor of his nature also one must not be deceived by the excitable's great display in excitement; excitability and states of excitement are very frequently weapons of weak personalities, especially personalities little potent in psychic expression, concerning whom it is frequently possible to say in the popular sense of the term that they have "little temperament." Ultimately also the form of the manifestations in conformity with the lack of temperament is often enough refractory and slightly mobile, and marks many states of excitement in primitive excitables with the stamp of clumsiness and unwieldiness.

There follow here the first combinations of different temperament types. If psychopathic vivacity be combined with psychopathic excitability, which may take place in many ways, there result types of a particular coloring and stamp. In the first place the vivacity is intensified by the excitability, just as the excitability is intensified by the vivacity in a vicious circle, the occurrence of which is usually beyond the reach of analysis. Frequently vivacious excitables appear more natural than the "pure" excitable because the excitability is capable of a "happy" amalgamation with the vivacity *per se;* moreover, it is partially assisted by the rapidity and mobility of the vivacious nature which may render smoothness and facility to the expression. States of excitement in the vivacious excitable present themselves in part more genuinely and it may be easier to reëxperience[17] and understand them; this is especially true if the person concerned be affectively resonant. On the other hand in very vivacious excitables there may also exist long-continuing and even permanent states of a not too intense excitement which can give the impression of an excess of fidgety restlessness of movements almost like an organically conditioned hypermetamorphosis.

C. THE EXPLOSIVE

What has been said concerning the excitable is equally true of the explosive. Fundamentally it is a matter of indifference as to whether they be regarded as an individual type or understood as a special form of the excitable. Their association with the excitable is through a primitive or more primitive excitable. Pecul-

[17] By this term is meant not the memory of the person who has this experience but the empathy of the observer.

iar to them is a very pronounced tendency to respond to outer stimuli in the form of a sudden discharge, i.e., discharge by jerks or "explosion" which rapidly reaches the peak of excitement and generally very rapidly, sometimes suddenly, returns again to equilibrium. The explosion can burst and scatter like a soap bubble after it has reached its highest tension. As a result of the high intensity, the sudden onset, and the limitation of consciousness certainly occasionally present, these explosive states of excitement can lead to particularly serious and dangerous acts of violence. Alcohol among other poisons is especially suited to intensify and magnify the explosiveness, and its destructive effect on the excitable in general should not remain unmentioned.

The states of excitement in excitables and explosives have in common the fact that they are often released by quite banal outer stimuli which appear objectively unimportant, thus indeed suggesting frequently enough that the remarkable effect may be complex conditioned. Nevertheless it is necessary to speak here very generally of a characteristic disproportion between stimulus and response; this disproportion is founded in increased excitability which is well conceived as a condition of unstable equilibrium.

The excitement or the state of excitement we have in mind here may have various colorings: the excitement in the primitive may appear quite colorless. In many excitables vexation, anger, sometimes anxiety, are very evident. The true explosives present not infrequently the intermingling of rage, which can show itself with tremendous effect (especially for any anxious laity who may be present) in the limitlessness of the manifestation—in "blind rage" against other persons or against the self.

D. THE IRRITABLE

The irritable are not to be separated on the basis of excitability from the excitable and explosive. While a great number of them with respect to excitability show kinship to the excitable the remainder are explosive; among them belong many of the hot-tempered. It might be superfluous to repeat the preceding remarks; they apply equally to the irritable with very unimportant modifications, but what gives to this type a stamp opposed to the two preceding types is the peculiarity of their *fundamental mood,* their irritability or irritation, by which is to be understood a particular form of unpleasant inner tension with a tendency to discharge. The tension of irritability favors the frequency of discharge.

In the discussion of the poikilothymic more will be said concerning the irritable mood. For the present it must be remarked that it seems impracticable to bring irritability into a unique relation with the manic depressive cycle in the broadest sense. Irritability occurs undoubtedly in very diverse psychic structures. On the side of the physique there is evidently no definite connection: it is certainly not true that, for example, only pyknics are irritable.

The question arises whether there may not be diverse kinds of irritability. At all events we are of the opinion that such is the case; although we are not in a position to give here definite phenomenological substantiation. With the poikilothymic, however, a careful attempt will be made in this direction.

The irritable here concerned we would like to characterize, so to speak, negatively with regard to irritability. We would include in this group all those irritable psychopathic types that fail to show evidence of a definite, closely circumscribed connection, either with

the poikilothymic or the cyclothymic in the strict sense, or with the manic depressive cycle in its broadest conception, or finally with the so-called epileptoid[18] or the types which are said to closely resemble genuine epilepsy.

It is essential that the irritable be considered here from the point of view of their particular temperament: as excitable, and more rarely as explosive with irritable mood. It remains to be added that the affective resonance of the irritable is not on the whole characteristic; in this as in the generally quick tempo of the expression they are identical with the excitable and explosive. They share rather generally the vigorous nature peculiar to the explosive, its form vacillating in them between that of the excitable and that of the explosive. Nevertheless there are persons who according to their nature are, so to speak, mobilely irritable.

It is possible to speak of combinations between irritable and excitable or between irritable and explosive because the irritable mood frequently joins excitability or explosiveness. At all events it is possible to say with equal truth that all the irritables are combination types *per se,* because side by side with their irritability they all have the excitability of the two other types and furthermore the nature either of the excitable or of the explosive.

It has previously been said that temperament in itself as contrasted with impulse is in a sense undirected. In this connection we should like to refer to this remark and add that what in temperament may have or seems to have at least a general direction is to be understood as the effect of the impulsive substructure to which we have ascribed a general vital direction. That

[18] As to the question of epileptoids we will later express our opinion at greater length.

which gives to the personality its direction, its goals, and its purposes, is derived from the upper level—from the character. We are compelled to make this apparent digression because in connection with the irritable we must mention a type which is essentially determined by temperament although within it a definite direction is to be recognized which makes difficult its unequivocal conception as a temperament type, namely:

The Quarrelsome

The quarrelsome may be conceived as the irritable whose irritability rather regularly takes the form of quarrelsomeness, involving an antagonism to persons or to the community, or to persons and institutions which represent the community. They represent thus a contrast to the real irritable whose irritability is primarily without direction and can discharge itself indiscriminately against the nearest object. That, on the basis of experience or complex conditioning, many of the irritables may secondarily direct their reactions against a definite object or group of objects does not alter the fundamental distinction. The discharges of the irritable are excitements or states of excitement which usually are characterized by a general nagging and teasing; to them anything and everything is appropriate as a sounding board for the discharge of their unpleasant tension. Perhaps this can be best expressed by saying that the irritable *per se* and primarily do not seek any object but instead find and use an object when, where, and however their inner tension dictates. On the other hand the quarrelsome seek the quarrel and the opponent, they need the pleasure of the struggle; quarrelsomeness gives the distinctive note to their affective discharges. The quarrelsome will be encountered again in another connection.

E. THE CHEERFUL (EUPHORIC)[19]

With the description of the cheerful we turn back to "pure" temperament types. The cheerful are distinguished by the cheerful, elevated, fundamental mood which is usually accompanied by a quick, strong, and mobile nature.

They frequently show a very superficial, affective resonance. Among those with a medium and especially a deeper affectivity are persons of a splendid "golden humor." Whereas the cheerfulness of the superficial can be contagious, it is not always exactly irresistible. The psychopathic element of the euphoric becomes apparent not only in the cheerful mood which often may seem to be unfounded and which can reach a high intensity, but also in the bustle and busy activity resulting from the superficiality and flightiness which latter may become extreme in combination types of the cheerful and the vivacious. This has already been said by implication in the discussion of the vivacious. The vivaciously cheerful are in constant inner and outer motion, they pass from one thing to another joyous and laughing, taking nothing as important, or everything as equally important, which occasionally amounts to the same thing. At the same time they are often stamped by a marked desultoriness.

Although excitability is not characteristic for the euphoric, primarily, excitable euphorics seem not to be infrequent. From these there is a gradual transition to true combinations of cheerfulness with excitability, more rarely with explosiveness. Of a certain importance are the irritable euphorics, certain forms of which will occupy attention later.

Euphorics are occasionally encountered who have

[19] Cf. p. 21.

strength of nature but moderate or slow tempo and slightly mobile form; these are the comfortably cheerful, who in their own way, like many other euphorics, stand on the boundary line of the psychopathic, or no longer belong at all in this sphere unless they happen to be stigmatized by a psychopathic peculiarity in another stratum.

In a somewhat more general summary of this last statement it may be said that according to our conception, which has been clearly stated and reiterated, the boundaries between the temperamentally psychopathic types and the normal are thoroughly indefinite, and that frequently merely the consideration from a particular (for example, social) point of view makes possible the inclusion of individual personalities among the psychopathic types. It is certainly valuable to realize this fact; it is brought forward not at all to stretch the range of the psychopathic but rather to seek and to demonstrate the existence of the normal and the healthy even in the psychopathic.

Whereas thus far only an occasional cautious remark has been made concerning the physique of the hyperthymic nevertheless it should be said concerning the euphoric that they have apparently a certain relationship to the pyknic physique. Although no statistics are available we feel that beyond question we have seen pyknic euphorics strikingly often.

2. *The Hypothymic*

Most hypothymic types represent the exact negative of certain hyperthymic types. In several pairs of types an extreme antithesis is to be traced into every detail; examples are: cheerful hyperthymic and sad hypothymic, the vivacious and the phlegmatic, the excitable and the torpid. It is in a large part this antithesis to

the hyperthymic group which makes possible and gives justification to the gathering of the hypothymics into a group.

Four subgroups of the hypothymic are distinguished by lack of excitability and of affective resonance, the remaining two are related by the hypothymic fundamental mood. It may be practical to group the former as *athymic* and the latter as *dysphoric* within the hypothymic. It is possible to object that what the athymic have in common with the dysphoric is not sufficiently evident to justify their inclusion within one group. It may be answered, however, that only a very few of the athymics are entirely "athymic" in regard to excitability and affective resonance. A large number of them are difficultly excitable and only superficially affective, that is, there exists in these qualities of the temperament a *decrease* with respect to the normal, and especially with respect to the hyperthymic. For this reason they appear also as *hypo*thymics in a broad sense. Their subgroups are bound together in broad transitions and stand in clear relation as regarding nature, to the dysphorics, that is to the hypothymic in mood. With the formation of the athymic and dysphoric subgroups, the present distinctions seem to have been taken into account and justice done to the objection mentioned.

It seems important to regard the athymic as temperamental psychopaths; much misunderstanding and several mistakes have resulted from the erroneous conception that with them the primary concern is character. It will be shown later that they are of causal importance in connection with the development of character as are the temperament types in general.

There might be mentioned some combinations among the group of hyperthymics. Still more combinations

will be taken up in the following discussion because the different hypothymic types do not only combine in their own group but also enter into combinations with hyperthymic types. So it happens that there are developed "alligations" (*Legierungen*) which theoretically would scarcely be expected. These "alligations," containing many contrasts, tend in a sense to glide over into peculiarly simple and complicated poikilothymic types. The existence of such "alligations" as well as their gliding-over into the poikilothymic types, and furthermore the peculiarity of the poikilothymic types themselves, render it perfectly clear that within the temperamental types there are ubiquitous interconnections and transitions. With these it is possible to deal only by measuring them with our schema, as they are met empirically, without attempting to force them into it.

A. THE ATHYMIC

F. THE PHLEGMATIC

Brief mention has been made of the fact that between the vivacious and the phlegmatic there exists an antithesis reaching into great detail. Our phlegmatics are generally conceived as the psychopathic manifestations of the phlegmatic temperament which Aristotle described.

The phlegmatic hypothymics are striking first of all for the poverty and slowness of their motor. They are characterized by a marked inertia and it is occasionally difficult to get them into motion. On this account there are to be found among them many born habitués, who sit hour after hour at a table drinking, smoking, listening, and being silent. Their slight mimicry corresponds to their total motor poverty; some seem either too comfortable or too lazy to laugh, but for this reason it

should not be thought that they are devoid of all humor. This plunges us into the midst of a discussion of the phlegmatic nature especially of the tempo which is strikingly slow. In the obese this slowness can acquire a particular emphasis which, however, does not lie in the obesity, for the mobility of the vivacious is generally not lost in conditions of the most marked corpulency. While the tempo of expression is uniformly slow in the phlegmatic, the form is uniformly unwieldy, clumsy, and viscid. The slowness and awkwardness of these phlegmatics can be the despair of other types and can act as a strong stimulus especially to vivacious and excitable psychopaths. The vigor of their nature varies in phlegmatics: for the majority it may be taken as somewhat under the average but there are a number with weak and some with strong natures. The temperamental expression of the latter in the slow ponderousness of its force may recall the mode of operation of a steam roller; in accord with the tempo of their starting they do not stop anything quickly. If, for example, a brutal phlegmatic happens to chastise his children or maltreat his wife he usually does it with great thoroughness.

The inner course (the affective resonance) of the psychic processes in the phlegmatic is not uniform: they are accustomed to react slowly affectively, but their affectivity is not always superficial. Among them there are personalities with true sentiment, specifically not a few of them tend to sentimentality, not necessarily accompanied it may be added by any considerable depth of sentiment.

All phlegmatics are very difficultly excitable; they do not permit themselves to be disturbed in their calm, or become so only under very unusual circumstances. Though generally their reactive affectivity is slight

and the level of their affective resonance is low, there are now and then observed true phlegmatics who have a sort of Achilles' heel, that is they can be thrown into a towering rage by the touching of one or another complex, be it organ inferiority, a bad habit, or the reminder of a disagreeable experience. Out of such a rage they return gradually to calm with or without help from the outside. In such situations very forceful psychic expressions occasionally can be observed in phlegmatics, and there may occur even a transitory acceleration in tempo. It is indeed possible to see here a certain combination of the athymic or hypothymic phlegmatic type with hyperthymic excitability or explosiveness. The "pure" phlegmatic would not be expected to become excited at all.

Should one desire to find one term for the mood of the majority of the phlegmatics one would have to call them "calm," that is, a sort of median without definite coloring. However, there are enough persons belonging to this group whose mood tends toward euphoria because it is "comfortable" and furthermore there are "comfortable euphorics"[20] (*behaebige Heitere,* in the sense of Kretschmer) which we regard as a combination of the cheerful with the phlegmatic. Irritability, however, is also at least occasionally present in individual phlegmatics. Reference is made here to what has been said concerning their explosiveness; it should be added that explosiveness may be very pronounced in certain rare cases of irritable phlegmatics. Scarcely to be separated from these are the ill-humored phlegmatics, related to whom are the gloomy. These will be considered later.

With reference to physique it should be said that

[20] Cf. p. 188.

very many phlegmatics incline to obesity in middle life but we prefer not to speak of a definite relationship to the pyknic physique. Is the inclination to obesity then causally dependent on the phlegmatic temperament, or is the phlegmatic temperament caused by obesity? Neither of these questions should be downright denied or affirmed. It is certain that the phlegmatic temperament occurs also in thin persons even though less often, and it is scarcely to be maintained that a true phlegmatic becomes so only after he has acquired an abdomen. On the other hand it is a frequent observation that persons with an increase of weight suffer a decrease in vivacity or at least in mobility. This is not a strict correlation since certain vivacious and cheerful persons maintain their nature even after they have become stout; this can be observed clearly at health resorts. On the other hand it is certain that increase in obesity frequently if not always favors decrease in mobility. Perhaps justice is best done to the undeniable relationship between corpulency and the phlegmatic temperament by assuming certain common bases in the physical constitution without bringing it into complete correlation. Against a strict correlation is the fact that cretins, in whom corpulency is not a frequent phenomenon, correspond temperamentally to the phlegmatic type. Perhaps the fact should be considered here that even the most intense organic reduction of the motor (for example, metencephalic akinesis) may bring about secondarily a decrease in psychic mobility, a kind of pseudo-phlegmaticism, but only exceptionally is it accompanied by adiposity and then probably only with a particular localization of the underlying changes in the brain. Furthermore the melancholic[21] with motor

[21] Interestingly enough there are also manic-depressive melancholics who gain in the depressive phases. I found this, for example,

inhibitions loses weight, as a result of his inadequate nourishment, while the manic can gain even with a considerable increase of his mobility. Again we are led to a remark concerning the pyknic physique: it goes without saying that this is not dependent on the nature or on the motor, because hypomanic as well as constitutionally depressive temperaments may be pyknic.

G. THE TORPID

The torpid are to be differentiated from the phlegmatic having usually a complete lack of affective resonance. Most of what has been said concerning the phlegmatic might be repeated concerning the torpid. There is actually no difference between the torpid, who may have scarcely even a very inferior and shallow affective resonance and the phlegmatic who happen to be particularly poor in affect. If the two groups are separated the reason for this is that their typical pictures are not identical. The phlegmatic stands nearer to the average, and the psychic processes which take place in him, even if slowly and often sparsely, may be reëxperienced; he is somewhat subject to modification with respect to mood, excitability, and resonance and is found in certain combinations with other types. Not so with the torpid who is for us strange and unreachable. It is often assumed that nothing is taking place within him because we are not in a position to visualize what might possibly be taking place.

In anticipation, mention may be made of what separates the torpid from those affectively poor and the affectless. The torpid are indifferent, inexcitable, and unmoved, but usually do not give the impression of coldness, perhaps partially because one does not get

in the father and four daughters of one family. Certainly here constitutional peculiarity is to be considered.

that far with them. The affectively poor are cool, the affectless are cold; for this reason they are repugnant whereas the torpid merely do not attract. For the sake of completeness it may be remarked that this lack of contact[22] is not characteristic of the phlegmatic as is easily understood in view of the difference in his mood and resonance. To be sure, those phlegmatics who stand nearest to the torpid constitute an exception, as do also those apparently rare phlegmatics, who are affectively poor or affectless.

If we remark that the mood of the torpid is indifferent without either a plus or a minus sign, in an entirely unemphasized middle state, and then add that regarding nature the explanation concerning the phlegmatic may be taken over completely, enough will have been said in this connection concerning the type in question.

It might be possible to regard the type of the torpid as the basis for the athymic and to consider the phlegmatic in respect to his affective resonance as merely a torpid person more fortunately endowed. Somewhat clearer is the close relationship of the affectively poor and the affectless to the torpid. In all athymics—in pure types—colorlessness of mood is characteristic.

H. AND I. THE AFFECTIVELY POOR AND THE AFFECTLESS[23]

These two types, which are separable only on the basis of the degree of excitability and affective resonance, are treated together because in this way repetition is best avoided. Those affectively poor have in common with the torpid a slow excitability, whereas the affectless are practically always free from all excitability. In the torpid, the affectively poor, and the

[22] Ability to make contacts and lack of this ability stand in the closest relation to the characterological superstructure.

[23] Cf. p. 21.

affectless, the affective resonance is either present in a very slight degree or completely lacking. This distinction from the phlegmatic has been mentioned already. In contradistinction to the slowness and ponderousness of nature which is practically universal in the phlegmatic and torpid, the mode of expression characteristic of the affectively poor and the affectless is very diverse: they may be moderate or rapid in tempo, and in form inconspicuous or mobile. From the association of lacking or slight affective resonance—from "negative" affective resonance—and the frequent positive peculiarities of nature in tempo and form, the impression of coolness or coldness in those poor or lacking in affect is readily understood. In all athymics there is no limitation to a particular strength (vigor) of the nature.

Our athymics, with perhaps the exception of the phlegmatic, correspond as a group to the psychopathic type which Kurt Schneider has described as affectless (*Gemuetlose*). We prefer our own division, its justification lying we believe in the construction of the types which are always differentiable. Schneider speaks in the appropriate chapter of the fact that entirely "pure" cases are not very frequent. In this he is to be supported. We are of the opinion that a portion of those types which he called not entirely pure in respect to the absence of affect, are to be ranked with the torpid and the affectively poor, and that the rest are to be regarded as combinations with hypo- and hyperthymic characteristics of temperament.

Persons of torpid temperament are almost without exception uncomplicated personalities. The phlegmatic also show no considerable complexity or variety concerning the differentiated structure of their personality. Through their tendency to combinations the affec-

tively poor and the affectless often show in the total construction of their personalities a rather considerable mosaic on the temperament side. In other words the character superstructure frequently rests with them on a complicated and many-colored foundation. Of this more will be said later. Here it is appropriate to consider the combinations into which poverty and lack of affect may enter.

There are persons who are vivacious and affectively poor, or vivacious and affectless, who may appear very "temperamental" because of the quick tempo and the mobility of their nature, but behind their vivacity the affective peculiarity is usually not entirely concealed. If their coolness or coldness come into evidence it appears even more striking and unnatural against the background of the vivacity than in persons of a calm nature. The vivacity can then occasionally appear artificial although it is an integral part of their temperament. In addition some of these athymics assume a vivacity for the sake of appearances which is entirely foreign to their being. Excitability also, particularly in the special form of explosiveness, occurs in this connection. The outbreaks of those poor or lacking in affect can assume particularly serious forms because of their icy brutality which with the lack of inner participation has, so to speak, a negative resonance. We have particularly in mind cruel "affective crimes" committed by men in this group. Furthermore there occur irritable or perhaps more exactly quarrelsome persons poor or lacking in affect; they will be discussed later.

A conception which we believe to be erroneous has led to the opinion that the euphorics are always approachable and warm-hearted, that is congenial persons. Unprejudiced observation shows that there are cheerful persons, busy, vivacious individuals, who re-

main inwardly completely cool. They represent combinations of the cheerful or the vivaciously cheerful with the affectively poor and affectless. Concerning persons poor or lacking in affect who appear cheerful and cheerfully vivacious, and also those who give the impression of excitability or explosiveness, attention must be called to the possibility that they may consciously assume a mode of temperamental expression which is actually not theirs. This fact has been mentioned in regard to combinations of vivacity with poverty or lack of affect. It may happen that these persons may themselves believe in the sincerity of such modes of expression, but in the great majority of cases this autosuggestion does not exist or does not extend beyond the momentary manifestation of the particular mode of temperamental expression which is foreign to the personality concerned.

Thus there have been discussed combinations of the athymic, especially the affectively poor and the affectless, with the hyperthymic. Their combinations with dysphoric and poikilothymic will be discussed under these headings.

With regard to the physique of the torpid, the affectively poor and the affectless, we prefer to express ourselves only reservedly. On the basis of our own experience we cannot establish definite relationships. Since we are in command of no figures it is impossible to assert even as conjecture a negative correlation with the pyknic physique. Kretschmer and his school suggestively stipulate with regard to the schizothymic group on the positive side (affinity with the leptosomic and athletic physique), with a greater definiteness than it has been possible thus far to verify apart from presuppositions. More clearly: the indisputable affinity of the pyknic for the total cycloid group does not permit

the establishment of a definite relationship between our athymic and the non-pyknic physique, which logically must be divided among all the non-cycloids. On this account it is impossible to be too cautious in this matter because owing to the strength and suggestive force of Kretschmer's conception it is only too easy to have in mind his types without being conscious that one's own premises are not identical with his. For this reason we have kept our own premises particularly in evidence; we are concerned here with the consideration of types from the temperament side, while Kretschmer pictures complex personalities.

B. THE DYSPHORIC

K. THE ANXIOUS[24] (TIMID AND PHOBIC)

The presentation of a group of anxious psychopaths demands a few remarks concerning anxiety, all the more because the ranking of the anxious as a subgroup of the dysphoric, that is, the conception of anxiety as a mood, may seem somewhat surprising.

Anxiety is, phylogenetically considered, a very old and fundamentally biological, though later psychological, mechanism. *Causally* it is an *alarm* springing from the deeper impulsive and instinctive strata; *finally* it leads to *security*. The animal whose existence is threatened feels anxiety and takes precautions for its safety because of and through the anxiety, attempting to escape the danger by flight (flight impulse), feigning death (death-feigning reflex), or the related mechanisms (mimicry). Animal anxiety is always anxiety of death; human anxiety also usually contains, at least in its phylogenetic significance, an element of the anxiety of death, so that in a certain sense Klages may be right

[24] Cf. p. 18.

in his formulation: "Anxiety is always dread of death" (*Todesangst*). This is certainly not to maintain that all human anxiety owes its origin to a threatening of life, or that human anxiety depends on a conscious or unconscious experience of mortal peril. It would be absurd, for example, to bring anxiety over examinations into direct association with anxiety concerning death, and yet even here there exists a certain indirect relationship. Anxiety enters when we feel ourselves threatened; we tend to feel ourselves threatened when we are in any sense insecure, and thus think that we are presenting a weak side to our opponent (this word being understood in the broadest sense). The feeling of being threatened or in danger directs itself, however, immediately to the total existence, to the total personality, even though consciously it may often be experienced that the attack is only against the self-evaluation into which to be sure the total personality enters. Anxiety, furthermore, is not a local process but instead immediately involves the whole organism, irrespective of the circumstance that the feeling of anxiety is often localized in a particular portion of the body. Thus anxiety signifies in any case an impairment of the total functioning within a personality, that is a change in its vitality, and in this way in some sense a threatening of life. In men, however, this is not true in the sense that in all or even in many cases the threat is experienced as actually a threat of death, as is usually or perhaps always the case with anxiety in the impulsive-instinctive life of animals.[25]

Klages finds a distinction between anxiety (*Angst*) and fear (*Furcht*) to be important. "Fear is always

[25] It is possible that pain or bodily injury may be feared as the immediate menace, but we assume that behind this lies the fear of immediate or possible death.

fear of something definite, such fear has nothing to do with anxiety"; "vague anxiety is a condition the essence and meaning of which can be understood only as a premonition of the life experience which we call death." Certainly such a distinction may be made plausible but ultimately death itself is something definite, and thus anxiety in the sense of anxiety concerning death is anxiety on the basis of a feeling of endangered life—also a fear. This is apparent in current usage in which it is customary to speak of dread of death (*Todesangst*) as well as fear of death (*Todesfurcht*), fear of death having perhaps a more general meaning whereas dread of death (anxiety concerning death) is made to refer more to the actually impending, or more or less certainly expected, ending of life. We will use here only anxiety in word and concept. It is certainly expedient to distinguish an "indefinite," "free floating" (Freud) anxiety from an anxiety which is rationalized, which contains a definite content. The indefinite anxiety is anxiety of death *per se*, whether or not it be so understood in consciousness. Anxiety concerning death can, however, be also rationalized anxiety: there are many persons who live almost permanently in an anxiety caused by an expectation of death. There are certainly two types of anxiety not truly antithetical but the one flowing into the other; these two, furthermore, may exist side by side: with a rationalized anxiety, an indefinite, sinister, gruesome feeling of anxiety can represent a "component of anxiety of death."

It is important to note that with the onset of psychotic, especially of schizophrenic processes, there appears not infrequently an indefinite anxiety, and that the complete or partial ascription of a rational content to the anxiety means a certain salvation to the patient.

The rationalization of the anxiety may be understood in this sense as a process of psychic self-protection.

These distinctions are significant in a consideration of the anxious psychopaths. Without forcing the issue, it is also possible to distinguish among these anxious psychopaths two types the differentiation of which to be sure may be as incomplete as the differentiation of the two anxiety types.

There are anxious persons who are practically permanently in a state of anxiety, whose mood is constantly colored by anxiety, by the feeling of anxious insecurity and the tension of expectation. They awaken with the timid question, What is going to happen to me today? and enter with marked apprehensiveness into all the experiences and interviews of the day. They will be termed here the *timid.* Frequently they have a feeling of great insecurity and insufficiency. No outer situation, however favorable, no assurance is capable of dispelling their anxiety. Even in early childhood they are marked by timidity and tend to withdraw; they are the prototype of personalities distinguished by feelings of inferiority. We tend to the opinion that among them are a considerable number of the primarily timid, that is personalities in whom anxiety is biologically founded. This is not a matter of indifference because a distinction is thus made from the conception of the individual psychologist that anxiety is fundamentally a psychic pattern. Primary anxiety, springing fundamentally from the corporeal, is not a pattern itself but gives rise to patterns of various types. One possibility is—and it occurs frequently enough—the rationalization of anxiety, the filling out of primary indefinite anxiety with experiential contents, with definite fears, with the building of a real anxiety experience, with hypochondriacal fears, with

the whole arsenal which insecurity places at the disposal of the personality.[26] It goes without saying that the timid person is always ready to use anxiety consciously and unconsciously in relationships with the outer world—to make a convenience of anxiety.

Freud has distinguished real and neurotic anxiety. Real anxiety is for him a "reaction to the perception of an outer danger" as "a manifestation of the impulse to self-preservation." Against this distinction there is nothing to be said; yet every anxiety may contain an element of real anxiety. Neurotic anxiety Freud considers to be fundamentally derived from "unemployed libido"; it is to "replace the lacking love object." With this conception we are not entirely in accord. Roots of anxiety and of Freud's so-called neurotic anxiety are to be sought in the impulse-life; this much is evident even with animals. To the extent to which anxiety primarily is derived from, or associated with, a differentiated impulse, and not with the total impulse stratum, the impulse to self-preservation is usually the impulse in question. As far as the timid are concerned we believe that their primary indefinite anxiety is not derived from sexual roots, but that they tend in marked degree to derive from their sexuality an "anxiety gain" and consciously or unconsciously to form a rational content out of sexual anxiety, taking the material for their anxiety patterns from their frequently obvious weakness in sexual impulse or impulsive insecurity. The neurotic anxiety of Freud would thus have its place here.

With the timid, anxiety is primary and insecurity and insufficiency are generally derived from it; with the other type of anxious personalities the situation is

[26] A purposive standpoint is unavoidable here, otherwise the necessary remarks would simply hang in the air.

reversed. Out of a present insecurity or insufficiency there develops a reactive or secondary anxiety, and indeed almost unexceptionally an anxiety which is rationalized and given content: "fear of something definite," really fear of very many definite possibilities and experiences. In the timid the anxiety is intensified to some extent through the participation of the impulse stratum, the personality is almost passive in relation to this anxiety. In the group now to be discussed of the anxious, the secondarily or reactively anxious—which are to be termed *phobics*—the anxiety is rather actively produced by the personality. Here also there are patterns, for actual anxiety plays the rôle of a tool, even though not always conscious; it is a weapon of weakness which anxious personalities make use of as a means of protection and security within their autotely.[27] Such a person can withdraw from difficult situations; he has a claim upon the forbearance and protection of the stronger. Herein lies the meaning and purpose of this anxiety, and of all of the reaction patterns proceeding from it.

Actually this anxiety is encountered in the timid also but it occurs secondarily, as it may occur in any person[28] secondarily. On the other hand there are certainly many persons who appear to be phobic though possessing the primary anxiety of the timid which indeed is widespread. Nevertheless primary anxiety plays on the whole a greater rôle in the timid, as does secondary anxiety in the phobic; at all events it seems worth while to set up these two types of anxiety and of the anxious and so to evaluate individual phenomena.

There are indeed many phobics whose primary anxiety has little or no significance. This is the case espe-

[27] See p. 37.

[28] There are very few Siegfrieds who "know not fear."

cially with those limited to a definite circumscribed anxiety content but otherwise not particularly anxious in their general life. A phobic can be a splendid soldier at the front, now and then he can even manage his special anxiety; but a timid person is from the start impossible as a soldier and similarly as a participator in any dangerous calling which requires the "whole man."

Phobics may represent the condition which has been described from varying points of view as "anxiety neurosis"[29]—a condition which is often markedly accessible to psychotherapeutic influence. The timid can be temporarily quieted, under certain circumstances influenced—physically!—with medicaments; but they cannot be healed. Their secondary anxiety manifestations also, which might be conceived as an implanted anxiety neurosis, may be in general rather refractory to psychic treatment.

The fact is not to be overlooked that from the "primal anxiety" (*Urangst*) of the animal two types of anxiety have developed in man. The primary indefinite anxiety on the one hand, aside from the complicated psychic superstructure, corresponds closely in its origin and development to the animal anxiety—not only in its derivation from a deeper stratum but also in its intimate interrelation with the physical, i.e., in the familiar physical manifestations of anxiety such as perspiration, trembling, dilation of pupils, blanching, release of urine, eructation, discharge of feces, etc. These physical manifestations, including the motor phenomena such as motor restlessness as a relic of the impulse to flight, motor paralysis as representative of the death-feigning reflex, all belong to the primitive de-

[29] It is not to be questioned that many of these conditions owe their origin to acute or chronic sexual lesions.

fense mechanism. This anxiety is a primal, protective and security mechanism, fundamentally as already noted a biological mechanism. It is to some degree impersonal and up to a certain point found even in men "extra-psychic." With the anxiety of the phobic it is otherwise: it is psychically produced, it is no primal mechanism but merely assumes the form of a primal mechanism whereas in reality it is subordinated to the purposeful system of the personality. Even this anxiety, however, does not remain exclusively in the psychic realm but frequently enough employs the same physical apparatus which is at the disposal of primary anxiety. It is to be assumed that phobic anxiety frequently loses the more or less conscious connection with the upper psychic strata, and now and then attains a certain independence. This may be particularly true of masked anxiety, or of masked anxiety states, in which without a particular appearance of psychic anxiety, physical manifestations of anxiety arise.

We would prefer to omit a hypothetical discussion of the physical origin of anxiety. It is enough to refer to the physical causation of anxiety through respiratory distress, cardiac disturbances (obversely anxiety is secondarily localized in the region of the heart or the thorax), through vasomotor disturbances and through intoxication.

A few words with regard to the question as to whether a relationship to a definite physical type may be maintained in the case of the timid and of the phobics. Two typically timid women of my observation, who had also phobic manifestations, were of the pure asthenic physique. A timid male who resembled closely the constitutional depressive if he were not actually one had an indefinite physique with leptosome and athletic components, perhaps pyknic elements were pres-

ent. A definite determination was not possible. We prefer to draw no conclusions from these observations.[30]

Is it then justifiable to consider the anxious psychopaths as a subgroup of the dysphoric? Is anxiety a mood? Anxiety is essentially a feeling or an affect, and a very old and very primitive affect at that, but unlike most feelings and affects it is able to color the mood in a thoroughly characteristic fashion. No one will deny the fact that there is such a thing as an anxious mood. The mood of the timid is markedly colored by anxiety. They are to be recognized as dysphoric in the narrowest sense of the word. This is apparently the opinion of Gruhle also, who lists the anxious side by side with the cheerful, sad, and irascible, in his schema of abnormal characters. The mood, that is, the permanent life mood of the phobic, is not nearly so uniform. Thus these types represent adnexa not belonging here in its entirety, just as did certain of the impulsory among the true impulsive personalities. Nevertheless their inclusion in this place seemed to be required not only from the point of view of anxiety but also because, as we have demonstrated in some detail, a sharp distinction between the timid and the phobic is easier in theory than in practice. What remains to be said concerning the phobic will have a place in our discussion of character which we were forced to anticipate in certain details.

Perhaps it is possible in the two types of anxious—more truly in the case of the timid—to speak of a generally increased susceptibility to anxiety. For the variation in this susceptibility which occurs in the timid and for the varied rôle of anxiety in the life of

[30] In the older material no notes were made concerning physique.

numerous phobics, the functioning of inner processes, and the influence of environmental stimuli may be responsible. Both manifestations seem to have their period of predilection from puberty to the third decade without, however, always disappearing completely after this period. This fact in connection with the observation that anxiety usually appears again more strongly in the involutional period is a direct indication of its deep association with the impulse-life. It cannot be doubted that there are anxious, especially timid persons, who within their lifetimes never win freedom from anxiety and enjoy only now and then periods of relative calm.

What is peculiar to many timid temperament types quite apart from the coloring of the mood by anxiety is the relative weakness of their psychic expression which often gives to their personalities the stamp of a certain passivity. With respect to their excitability and affective resonance nothing can be said which is generally applicable to all of the timid; neither are they all remarkably excitable nor is their susceptibility to anxiety a guaranty of any considerable depth of resonance.

The phobics are apparently even less uniform; indeed one of their peculiarities is the inclusion among them of the most varied temperament types. Many phobics both in and outside of their secondary anxiety states are vivacious; the expression of their anxiety may be very impressive as the result of the rapidity and mobility of their nature. Vivacious timid persons usually show a motor restlessness colored by anxiety; among them are those who are always afraid of being late and are always in a rush. In the timid and phobic there occur not infrequently a marked excitability and explosiveness; they incline to states of anxious excite-

ment. Similarly, irritables of both types occur; their mood appears as a mixture of irritability and anxiety. Cheerful anxious personalities are seldom found, although occasionally there are timid and phobic persons who, especially after the first decades, develop a somewhat embarrassed joy in life and a humorous and ironical self-criticism. With the athymics there are few combinations, although the timid and phobic is not unknown who is affectively poor. The type of the anxious and cool personality, which can scarcely be conceived as other than leptosome, knows in general how to bury his anxiety behind his reserve so that it is discovered only occasionally in cases where close observation is possible. There are many transition forms from cool and anxious to the sensitive types.

The relationships of the anxious to the gloomy and to the poikilothymic will be discussed under the respective headings.

L. THE ILL-HUMORED

In the ill-humored[31] we have a type well characterized as to mood. Ill humor is a clear-cut, unpleasantly toned, unhappy mood which is accompanied by a moderate degree of inner tension. It might be possible to place this type between the irritable and the gloomy; they seem, however, to be less active than the former and not as passive as the latter. Nevertheless the ill-humored mood may be conceived equally well as a middle stage between the irritable and the gloomy, or as a mixture of the two. In contradistinction to the irritable the pure ill-humored type is not essentially excitable, and above all is not inclined to emotional discharge. The ill-humored psychopath is a person who,

[31] We translate the German term "missmutig" with "ill-humored," which is very close to "morose."

without being gloomy, finds pleasure in nothing and is contented with nothing, but again, in contradistinction to the irritable, rarely takes out his discontent in nagging others, directing it, instead, despondently against himself. It might be said that the ill-humored are irritated with themselves. The pure ill-humored are strongly withdrawn within themselves, and possess an affective resonance which is definitely below the average. In the tempo of their nature they are predominantly slow, their psychic expression is of slight strength and in form heavy or tenacious.

Combinations of the ill-humored with the hyperthymic types are infrequent. A type of the vivaciously ill-humored scarcely occurs. Excitable and irritable ill-humored belong to the particularly "difficult" human types because they come into constant conflict with their environment as a result of their irritable ill-humored mood and of the outward discharge of their ill humor. Now and then a person with a sort of "grim humor" may represent a not too happy combination of cheerful and ill-humored temperaments. Of the athymic ill-humored one finds not a few: they are particularly austere combinations as a result of their complete lack of response—cool and affectless—through complete inner absorption, and a lack of capacity for making contacts. On the side of nature obvious relationships exist between the ill-humored and the phlegmatic.

The combination of ill humor and anxiety is frequent. The timid ill-humored exhibit a mood of mingled anxiety and discontent. They are indeed those psychopathic types which are most often predetermined on the side of temperament to hypochondriacal attitudes and reactions. If there be added to this combination a bit of irritability, there results, in the form of an irritable, anxious, ill-humored, temperamental

psychopath, a particularly tormented and tormenting type, who according to the intermittent domination of one or another mood may present the most remarkable variations of coloring. In accord with the corresponding manifestation of the nature they may give the picture of restless, hasty, constantly nagging and scolding hypochondriacs who are extremely occupied with themselves, and trying to the ears and nerves of the persons around them. It is scarcely necessary to mention that as a result of rationalization of anxiety phobic features may be added which can appear entirely eccentric. The ill-humored depressive will be discussed under the heading of the gloomy.

M. THE GLOOMY[32] (DEPRESSIVE)

The gloomy, characterized primarily by their mood, represent the unmistakable antithesis of the cheerful. Peculiar to them is "a constantly gloomy feeling tone in all life experiences" (Kraepelin). They have a serious attitude toward life, take everything hard, and are unable to throw things off; brooding was invented for them. As genuine pessimists they see the future dark and dangerous before them. Overestimating all difficulties they tend in general to underestimate themselves, to feel themselves insufficient, and they lack self-confidence and security. Here character elements are evident. In their sad mood and their insecurity they are often easily wounded and appear not infrequently exaggeratedly sensitive because they adjust very slowly to their experiences (*Verhaltung*—restraint—in Kretschmer's sense).

The nature of the gloomy in the pure type is also in each point the antithesis to that of the cheerful. The

[32] Cf. p. 21.

gloomy are slow in tempo, they can even be inhibited. The vigor of their psychic expression is often below the average and even weak, its form unwieldy and sluggish.

The cheerful person is generally to be recognized immediately by his gaiety; in the gloomy the mood peculiarity is not always evident. Not a few of them understand how to bury their mood below the surface and give merely the impression of seriousness, ponderosity, and thoughtfulness. Now and then the fundamental mood is to be detected in the facial expression by the weary, resigned mouth lines, deep wrinkles from nose to chin, a "mournful expression" of the eyes which some of them like to close halfway.

The heaviness, circumspection, and skepticism of their attitude toward life make incisive critics out of a number of these depressives. In this they are in sharp contrast to the cheerful whose tendency is to superficiality, who are easily inspired and like to take things as they come or as they see them.

Many of the gloomy have an affective resonance of unusual depth, are compassionate and kind. It is almost as if the familiarity with suffering which marks their own nature had made them particularly sensitive to the suffering of others. There are gloomy persons of a deep affectivity who conceal their resonance in order to protect themselves. On the other hand a depth of affective resonance is not a regular part of the temperament of the gloomy among whom are to be found moderately resonant and even cool personalities. Here combinations with the athymic types are encountered.

In excitability the pure types of the gloomy are not above the average. Yet combinations occur between them and the excitables or the explosives. Furthermore, irritable and ill-humored depressives are observed whose character structure is of particular interest.

Kurt Schneider opposes to the type of the ponderous depressive, which corresponds to our pure type of the gloomy, the ill-humored depressive, which he describes as "cold and egotistical, sullen and crabbed, irritable and nagging, even malicious and spiteful." Here there is little left of the warmth and kindness of the true type of the gloomy.

Combinations of anxious and gloomy temperaments are particularly frequent. The gloomy in his insecurity tends markedly to anxiety states. It is not surprising if persons who see everything darkly look toward the future with anxiety. Some of the timid have the unmistakable mood of the gloomy and their nature. There are persons of anxious mood in whom it is scarcely possible to determine with any certainty whether it be a matter of a timid person with the gloomy temperament type as an inclusion, or a gloomy type with a factor of anxiety. From the point of view of the combination the precise differentiation from one side or the other may not be too important in such cases.

In common with the anxious, the gloomy type and its corresponding combinations have a tendency to "anxiety neurosis"; generally speaking, to "neurotic" conditions the significance of which as mechanisms of self-protection and security may be enormous. To this fact and to the related capacity for production of ideas of reference occurring occasionally in the gloomy or the sensitively gloomy, only mention can be made in this place. But it would be unfortunate to omit mention of a slightly anxious, gloomy, pyknic lady, who as a result of a feeling of insecurity, side by side with great social dexterity, was tortured by the idea that people would not like her.

The physique of the gloomy is certainly not uniform for they belong to no single constitutional group. Fol-

lowing Kretschmer's classification one would expect to find them chiefly among the pyknics. We have not thoroughly examined material at our command concerning physique and on this account the question must be left open. It seems too dangerous to report here merely impressions which have been acquired in part under the direct influence of Kretschmer's theory. That pyknic types occur among the gloomy will certainly not be questioned in any quarter. This, however, proves nothing, the more in that the character structure of the gloomy cannot be shaped to one last.

3. *Poikilothymic*

It has been necessary again and again to make reference to the fact that in accord with experience and our own definitions formed on this basis, the transition from the types considered thus far, and from the psychopathic types in general to the psychic norm is gradual, and that similarly individual psychopathic types are not to be sharply set apart from each other. This fact is indeed contained in the very concept of type. Thus it is obvious from the outset that the poikilothymics cannot have a sphere to themselves but instead come into broadest relation with the normal, the hyperthymic, and the hypothymic. These relationships are of various kinds. If by poikilothymics we understand those psychopathic temperamental types whose typical peculiarity lies in the *changeability of the fundamental mood, of the excitability, of the psychic expression,* and to a certain extent also of the affective resonance it becomes necessary to add one fact, which completes our preceding picture in an important aspect. This is the fact that in the temperament types already mentioned these changing manifestations are not entirely excluded and indeed occasionally play a certain rôle.

They are not, however, typical and this is the distinction.

To the psychically "normal," that is the well-rounded, non-psychopathic personality, reactive and autochthonous mood oscillations are happily not foreign; otherwise the normal personality would be a psychic automaton with permanent moods incapable of modulation. Not only does the mood of the normal vary in response to inner influences and outer stimuli but also his excitability and resonance undergo periodic variations above or below the level of his average condition. The expressions of the "healthy" nature are not stereotyped and always uniform but in the course of time show many differences in tempo, vigor, and form. Thus it happens that the development of the personality[33] is accompanied by changes in temperament. To be sure it is to be assumed that the temperament of the personality is extensively independent of outer influences; it is, however, of the nature of development that nothing is complete at the start. So it is not possible to predict, for example, with reference to some cheerful infant whether he will develop a cheerful or ill-humored temperament or even an athymic one. Without stretching these parallels too far it would be possible to bring the hyperthymic temperament into a certain relationship to childhood, to the period of development, and to maturity, and on the other hand the hypothymic to the period of decline. These parallels permit, furthermore, a cautious deduction that the temperament of a personality is not inevitably fixed. On the other hand the correlation between temperament and chronological age is anything but close; in

[33] By development of the personality we mean only the purely developmental progress of the life of the person and are not particularly emphasizing developmental periods or crises.

the hyperthymic age periods—if this expression may be permitted merely for convenience as a catch phrase —hypothymic temperamental manifestations are not less lacking than are hyperthymic in the hypothymic age periods. It is right to bring the exuberance of youth with its fulness of life into relationship with general temperamental *Anlagen,* and similarly quiet resignation with age, or the often weary, and suppressed hunger for living with the involutional period. Resignation —we do not overlook the fact that in this term more than temperamental factors are contained—however, occurs also in the earlier age periods, and although temperamental exuberance is scarcely usual at an advanced age nevertheless it is not entirely lacking. How these manifestations are developed in individual cases depends on the structure of the individual personality. Further substantiation is scarcely necessary for the fact that impulsive foundations play a significant rôle. They are ubiquitous and not of a static or constantly uniform intensity, being instead an enormously dynamic factor which is subjected to many changes.

In brief outline we will run through the individual hyperthymic and hypothymic types. In order not to get too far afield we will exclude in this outline those combinations already mentioned. It should be noted, however, that those manifestations which are to be mentioned also represent combinations.

Many of the vivacious are not always and uninterruptedly vivacious but have also their quiet periods like the excitable, the explosive, and the irritable. Although it is impossible to consider them simply as hypothymic in these periods they are as it were under a cloud. At all events they are at such times frequently more bearable than usual, from the point of view of their surroundings. This is especially true of the excitable and

the irritable. However, it may be also observed that this change may progress further so that the above-mentioned hyperthymic become periodically unmanageable; and further that they appear actually changed, giving sometimes the lame and stiff impression of a phlegmatic or of an affectively poor hypothymic; all this without permitting the use of the term gloomy in mood to say nothing of diagnosing it as a depression.

Conversely, the phlegmatic and the torpid may also become transitorily more vivacious and excitable either spontaneously or under the influence of experiences which have made an unusually deep impression. The assumption of an actual increase in affective resonance is usually erroneous, and if occasionally under peculiar circumstances this seems to have taken place in an athymic it is limited to the particular experience and its elaboration. In the dysphoric the quieting and balancing influence of experiential saturation is very evident and may persist for a longer or a shorter time; but there are also periods of "endogenous" origin during which they are less anxious or less ill-humored, and even occasionally entirely free from anxiety or ill humor.

Greater vivacity and excitability in persons who are otherwise hypothymic are to be observed for the most part before the prime of life, while athymic and dysphoric elements or periods in hyperthymics occur relatively more frequently during the period of decline. This is, however, no law, scarcely a rule.

N. AUTOCHTHONOUSLY LABILE IN MOOD (AUTOCHTHONOUS POIKILOTHYMIC)

The autochthonous poikilothymics are to be considered as a combination of the cheerful with the gloomy type. There are certainly cheerful types whose

gaiety and sprightliness are never dimmed, and gloomy persons whose fundamental mood remains uninterruptedly serious and depressed. A great number of the cheerful, however, know hours or days in which the heavens are somewhat overcast, in which they find it difficult to continue with their otherwise pleasant preoccupations, days in which the bright flow of thought is lacking, in which thoughts of any kind come only sparsely and with difficulty. Their counterparts are the gloomy, the unwieldy, who now and then for a brief period find that the pressure of life is suddenly relieved, that everything runs smoothly, that they are not limited to brooding and circumspect meditation but instead can think and make decisions almost with a gay playfulness, feeling that the world is beautiful and that people are friendly and kind—this until the gray curtain falls again.

These cheerful and gloomy personalities with occasional heterologous moods represent the transition to the true poikilothymic. They usually appear to themselves and others as entirely unequivocal natures who undergo now and then "fits" which are not at all in keeping with their personality and quickly pass. The autochthonous poikilothymics in the strict sense know the changeability of their psychic make-up and those about them know it also. The types which are found are to be ranked between those just mentioned who experience only exceptionally heterologous moods and those in whom there takes place an almost regular vacillation from cheerful to sad. The permanence of the antithetical phases is very variable. Heterologous interludes may last only a couple of hours although in cases of regular changeability such short phases are not often observed; on the other hand one or another mood may frequently persist for weeks or months.

The cheerful and gloomy make-up of the autochthonous poikilothymic is not distinguishable *per se* from that of the cheerful hyperthymic and the gloomy hypothymic. Nevertheless in autochthonous poikilothymic personalities which have learned to appraise their condition the cheerfulness and the gloominess may often receive a certain accentuation. The former may be somewhat overcast by the expectation of the gloomy mood though it be impermanent, the latter may find a subjectively and objectively unmistakable alleviation through the sure hope of the impending euphoria.

It is evident from the preceding remarks that the cheerful or gloomy mood largely dominates the temporary psychic make-up of the personality autochthonously labile in mood, and gives to its total picture a scarcely mistakable stamp; and further that in addition to the mood the reactive emotionality, the affective resonance, and the nature are of high significance. If it had been possible to say at the outset that the temperament need not be unchangeable this remark would of course not be limited to the mood factor of the temperament. It is unnecessary to repeat here what has been said concerning the remaining qualities of temperament in the discussion of the cheerful and the gloomy; it is applicable in toto to the corresponding states in the autochthonous poikilothymic. In them mood, excitability, resonance, and manifestations of the nature run as little constantly parallel as in the case of hyperthymic euphorics, and hypothymic depressives. Thus we find atypical pictures, some of which must be mentioned. Combinations will not be discussed here in detail when they are met. This has been done at length with the corresponding hyper- and hypothymic types.

Many autochthonously labile in mood seem frequently somewhat blocked in their cheerfulness; they

give then the effect of circumspect cheerfulness. Their affective excitability is relatively slight. In combination with an affective resonance which is often considerable they show in their psychic expression a retarded tempo, moderate vigor, and a certain ponderousness of form. They are a kind of miniature picture of an inhibited maniac or of a manic stupor. In place of the easy cheerful excitement they show moderate inhibition. The depressive phases of autochthonous poikilothymics represent the opposite pole in their heightened excitability, vivacious expression, combined frequently with elements of anxiety and occasionally of ill humor; these phases recall the picture of agitated melancholia, which is clinically well characterized. To list here all the shadings of these "mixed conditions" in autochthonous poikilothymics would be to weigh down our presentation too heavily.

The irritability of many autochthonously labile in mood stands between the two "mixed conditions" just mentioned. Such personalities have periods of pronounced moods of irritability, and an irregular as well as a regular variation between euphoric and depressive conditions. Not a few of them present a great variety of pictures: gloomy, cheerful, and irritable moods combined with the most varied heterologous elements and colorings. An irritable mood may follow a gloomy mood as well as a cheerful one, but may also follow an indifferent mood. The irritability may often occur as the precursor of a gloomy mood of longer or shorter duration, and as a result of its brief duration and moderate strength may give the impression of a slight insecurity, a trifling, scarcely defined oscillation of mood, so that the irritability although present may become neither subjectively nor objectively evident as such. This, however, is not the most frequent case.

Frequently the irritability is objectively unequivocal and perceptible, and is experienced by the person concerned either as such, or as nervousness, as fidgetiness, or as inner restlessness; physical and "neurotic" superpositions or expressions of irritability such as palpitation, a sense of constriction, gastrointestinal disturbances, disturbances of sleep, etc., which occur frequently also in gloomy moods, are often observed.

The irritable mood or the state of irritability in the poikilothymics can be made comprehensible genetically as a result of the combination of components of the gloomy and euphoric make-up. From the euphoric it contains a bit of elation or excitement; from the gloomy a bit of blocking or inhibition. This contrast is magnified if there be added pronounced excitability and if there appear further contradictory components in the nature, such as rapid tempo with slight force and sluggish form, or slow tempo with moderate vigor and mobile form. It is thus evident that irritability in poikilothymics need not be composed in every case of identical single temperament factors, and furthermore it may be constituted by very diverse mixtures and grades of mixture. However, what is peculiar to all of them, and so is characteristic, is the irritability of the poikilothymic, engendered from opposite, and in a way conflicting, temperamental elements. The state of being torn back and forth between these elements, conditions the duality in the irritable make-up of the poikilothymics: they are inwardly driven by excitement, and feeling themselves blocked at the same time are unable to find a way out. The irritability of the labile on the basis of its fundamental temperamental mixture takes up rather exactly a middle position between euphoria with vivacity, and a gloomy mood with retardation, or gives the effect rather of irritated depression with excite-

ment and readiness for emotional discharge, or sometimes also of irritated cheerfulness with retardation (the humor of the gallows). Irritable poikilothymics can be exceedingly disturbed, and furthermore a somewhat long-enduring irritability with an element of gloominess is capable of driving them to despair. The period of calm which sets in sooner or later brings them relief; often indeed the onset of a gloomy mood is experienced as a relaxation and comfort. It goes without saying that this is actually the case with the appearance of a wave of cheerfulness.

As has previously been indicated nothing can be said in general concerning the duration of the various phases in autochthonous poikilothymic personalities. A certain regularity is to be observed in single cases such as the weekly or monthly recurrence of euphoric and gloomy moods, but even in such cases the periodicity[34] is rarely exact. Either one phase or another is longer or shorter or there is now and then an interpolation of a condition of irritability. Even in fairly regular variation of phases the behavior in each phase is not always uniform: in a cheerful mood there are moments of apparent gloominess and in conditions of gloom or irritability there are marked daily vacillations. In such cases the second half of the day, especially the evening and night, often brings recovery after difficult hours. Here belong personalities who yearly and daily—not infrequently for many years or practically permanently—awake in a gloomy mood and so continue through the first hours of the day. Similarly they may awake irritable and taciturn unable to start

[34] With reference to the course of the year there is perhaps a slight increase of euphoria in spring and summer, of gloom in autumn and winter. Individual autochthonously labile speak spontaneously of their "winter melancholia" or even of their "hibernation."

from their house to their work, and then during the course of the forenoon they cheer up and continue their daily round quite cheerfully. It is a peculiar experience to meet such an "early morning melancholic" (the expression was used by a person of this type) whom one has seen in the morning morose and sullen, either during the day when he is contented in his business, or in the evening, joking in the social circle—the grumbler has become a joyful talkative human being. However, not only in the early morning hours but at any other time of day an autochthonous poikilothymic may experience, apparently without cause, an hour or two of troubled sadness or tense irritability. Side by side with such personalities there exist the autochthonously labile whom one sees always cheerful and busy in profession and society, yet who collapse at once into depression or irritability as soon as they come within their own four walls, whether alone, in the family, or with a narrow circle of friends. To be sure outer influences frequently play a rôle—positively, stimulation in profession and society; and negatively, joylessness at home, and marital or other conflicts. Nevertheless such strikingly variable types occur apparently apart from any essential outer influences; they are indeed often not recognized as poikilothymic because their moodiness is known only to a very narrow circle.

There has been mentioned in passing the fact that in autochthonous labile personalities the affective resonance is also subject to change. A particularly deep resonance is characteristic neither of the euphoric and gloomy nor of the autochthonously labile, although considerable degrees of affective resonance are frequent among all of them. The labile appear in general to be the most deeply resonant when gloomily disposed; in the euphoric disposition the resonance is

more superficial, and the same is true in the irritable mood. At all events no rule can be given. The individual personality is the primary determinant of the affective resonance, which during the vacillation of mood undergoes the changes mentioned. It is an unmistakable fact that in some autochthonous poikilothymics of really deep resonance this is not lost in cheerfulness and irritability, and does not become too shallow though inclining to a certain superficiality relative to its primal depth. Nevertheless not all poikilothymics are remarkably resonant, warm-hearted persons; some of them are indeed quite cool and poor in affect; in them it may be almost or entirely impossible to observe vacillations of resonance.

Among autochthonous poikilothymics there are to be found a considerable number of persons who are strikingly productive, some of them genial and artistically gifted. It is an interesting phenomenon that in many of these productive poikilothymics the capacity for production is not only quantitatively increased in the free and cheerful periods, but also shows occasionally an unmistakable tendency to superficiality, flightiness, and lack of criticism. The balance is then restored in the gloomy and irritable periods when the productivity decreases, reaching transitorily even the zero point, and what has been created in the previous mood is subjected to a very penetrating criticism with a tendency to self-depreciation. At such times finished or half-finished works are gone over again and again, closed manuscripts are not delivered, perfected plans are left lying until the joy and power of creation returns with the recession of the dysphoria.

Occasionally it has been intimated that reactive oscillations also occur in these autochthonous labile. The matter will not be discussed here in greater detail

although it may be remarked that concerning the mood variation from the autochthonous to the reactive poikilothymic there are all sorts of transitional stages. These relationships have been made clear in principle through the fundamental researches of Reiss.

O. THE REACTIVELY LABILE IN MOOD (REACTIVE POIKILOTHYMIC)

The peculiarity of the reactive poikilothymic lies in his tendency toward change of mood in response to outer stimuli. He may be thrown from an indeterminate mood into a mood of cheerfulness or gloom under the influence of pleasant or unpleasant outer stimuli. Also an extreme mood may be transformed readily into the opposite extreme or into an intermediate one. The reactively labile are also subject to anxiety, ill humor, and irritability which can set in just as reactively as the two extremes of mood just mentioned. Usually the reactive poikilothymics are excitable, sometimes explosive, and it is possible to speak of combinations. The excitability not only reveals the mood swing, but also enriches the repertory at the disposal of the personality, as a result of which the mood may be colored on the one hand by excitability, on the other hand by anxiety or anger, etc., permeated by excitement and states of excitement. No further evidence is necessary of the fact that in cross section it is frequently impossible to determine whether we are dealing with a state of anxious gloom in a reactively labile personality, or a state of excitement colored by anxiety in an excitable personality. What is important here, however, is not the presentation of tricks for quick diagnosis but instead the tracing out of possibilities for complicated psychopathic manifestations, through differentiation or structural analysis.

It is unquestionable that the reactively labile are at least closely related to the excitable, the explosive, and the irritable, and enter into combinations with them. There are excitable and irritable persons who from the point of view of moodiness can be ranked at once among the reactively labile. What separates the labile from the hyperthymic seems to be the lability of the mood which in no particular plays the same rôle in the former as in the latter. It is just this moodiness which justifies the grouping together of reactively and autochthonously labile personalities as poikilothymic, diverse as are the extreme types of both groups.

Usually the extreme moods of reactively labile and also those which are more or less colored by irritation or ill humor are of brief duration, often even fleeting: that is, with the disappearance or compensation of the evoking stimulus, at the end of a couple of hours or even occasionally of minutes, there will again be "fair weather." Here may be ranked certain female "virtuosos in weeping" who have floods of tears at their command for all occasions. However, these artists in weeping who allow their tears to flow without any inner participation, merely for the accomplishment of an outer effect, are certainly not to be included among the reactively labile. Under the influence of chronic stimuli, deep disillusionment, and persistent inner conflict, reactively dysphoric moods may continue for years, interrupted by frequent, longer or shorter, euphoric or indifferent moods, in each case of reactive onset. These states slip over without any sharp boundary into what is strictly speaking psychopathic depression (Otto Kant).[35]

[35] Kretschmer describes excellently the "nervous, soft tensionless depression" which in his opinion only occurs in "psychopaths with essentially asthenic components of character."

Certain euphorics deserve special attention on account of their marked reactive moodiness in the direction of irritability or gloom. They are characterized without exception by a considerable excitability.

Combinations between athymic and reactively labile types are at least very rare. Should an athymic appear reactively labile he is either usually not a pure athymic or his moodiness or bad humor is not *bona fide* (the *milieu* of the prison, etc.).

The manifestations of the affective resonance in the reactively labile are various. For all the depth of affect present in many of them it must be said nevertheless that the resonance is often not as great as the lability of mood and the persistence of the dysphoria would suggest. Not infrequently the reactive poikilothymic with the means at his command puts up a front which stands in marked contradiction to what is actually taking place within him. If we were to assert here that the dysphoric moods of the reactively labile are often to be understood as purposeful reactions in men who are very much occupied with themselves and possessed of an exaggerated tendency to self-pity, then we should have glanced again briefly into the realm of character. It is necessary, however, to say expressly that the reactive moodiness does not take place exclusively in the realm of psychogenic purposeful reactions in the strict sense, closely related as psychogenic and psychoplastic reactions of mood frequently are to purposeful reactions. That the reactive moodiness takes its place within the autotely of the personality is obvious.

A few remarks concerning the relationships and combinations of the autochthonous with the labile types may be appropriate. It must be remembered that in a strictly psychological sense a sharp division is not to be expected, for example, between the gloomy mood of

the autochthonous poikilothymic, the mood of the gloomy dysphoric, and the gloomy mood of the reactive poikilothymic. The gloomy mood of the latter is conditioned by experience, more exactly: by external experiences. The gloomy mood of the autochthonous poikilothymic, however, is not born full grown from the corporeal but must be understood at least in part as a regularly occurring psychic reaction of the personality or of its temperament stratum to physical processes. In other words the gloomy mood in an autochthonously labile personality is at least in part a psychic reaction to the experience of a process within the body. Nevertheless as Kurt Schneider in particular has phenomenologically represented, the endogenous gloom is differently constituted, reaching down as it were into the deeper layers—which in this case are not to be considered identical with the strata of our construction of personality. The reason for this is obvious not only in the fundamental physical processes but also in a temperamental susceptibility in some sense molded by them, which is perhaps to be considered as only quantitatively different from the reactively labile susceptibility. In any case from the psychological point of view in particular there is obviously a gradual transition from the autochthonous to the reactive variation of mood and this of course is to be assumed with regard to the corresponding psychopathic types. The preceding statements are by no means valid for the gloomy mood alone but *mutatis mutandis* for all the remaining moods here discussed.

The relationships are such that many of the autochthonously labile are also to a greater or less extent reactively labile. This fact has been covered already. A great number of observations of autochthonous poikilothymics are scarcely to be understood and ex-

plained in any other way than through participation of a reactively labile susceptibility; we have in mind here: the effect of favorable and unfavorable experiences, the influenceability of the phases, the dependence of the mood on definite situations, etc. On the other hand it is to be remembered that in many reactively labile personalities autochthonous features participate, although obviously not in a manner presentable in percentages. The participation is sometimes in the form of simple combinations of reactive and autochthonous moodiness and sometimes together with a gloomy, cheerful, or irritable fundamental mood, on the basis of which reactive mood-swings in the direction of exacerbation or contrast may make their appearance. All these complications are indeed seldom enough demonstrable with certainty and exactness in every individual case in a clinical material which often is so quickly withdrawn from observation. However, extensive experience inside and outside of clinic and asylum supplies enough additional examples of the combinations and interrelationships which have been indicated here. It is impossible to agree completely with Kurt Schneider who, grouping together the autochthonously and reactively labile, considers the question of whether a condition is reactively or autochthonously labile "theoretically possible, but on the basis of actual experience not exactly determinable." We would at least say that it frequently is not exactly determinable.

It should not be forgotten that in the autochthonous poikilothymic there apparently exists an affinity for the pyknic physique, whereas the reactively poikilothymic has not an unequivocal tendency to any particular habitus. Nevertheless J. Lange was able to deter-

mine in a number of carefully observed psychogenic depressives a predominance of the asthenic physique.

Up to a certain point the attempt may be made to use the quality of the nature in the autochthonous and reactive poikilothymic as a means of differentiation of stages or phases—incidentally it would be expedient to reserve the expression "phase" for exclusive reference to the autochthonous poikilothymic. Autochthonously labile personalities have been discussed briefly with reference only to nature as related to irritability. From this remark it is obvious that the psychic expression of the poikilothymic is not always in exact accord with their mood, excitability, and affective resonance. Nevertheless it is true for a great number of cases that during the gloomy mood the expressive behavior is slow, weak, and clumsy, and during the cheerful mood rapid, vigorous, and mobile, and during the irritable mood at least rapid and vigorous. Thus certain established relationships may exist with a degree of regularity between single components of temperament. This is true of the pure autochthonous types. In the pure representatives of the reactive types the case is different in so far as the nature in all moods and conditions is subjected to a certain changeability in tempo and vigor remaining constantly mobile in form. This distinction, however, does not always help. In the first place all cases are not pure types and with the combinations it is often difficult to determine to which portion of the combination the mobility of the nature is to be ascribed. Furthermore it is usually impossible to determine at once from a cross section whether the mobility of the psychic expression belongs to a state of reactive moodiness or to an autochthonous phase of mood, and whether it is a homologous or a heterologous element.

Note

Concerning the Temperament of the Sensitive

Sensitive or "touchy" psychopathic personalities are not to be characterized merely according to temperament; on this account they do not belong strictly among the dysthymic psychopathic types. Since, however, we are of the opinion that for the character superstructure and thus for the total structure, the temperamental basis is of peculiar causal significance in these personalities, they may be considered here. In any case such a discussion does not fall outside the limits of a chapter concerning dysthymic psychopathic types.

We assume here that the sensitive stand in closest relationship to the reactive poikilothymic, being in part so far as temperament is concerned combinations between these and other dysthymic types. The sensitive tend generally in the direction of reactive mood-swings, especially toward the gloomy side, but euphoric mood-swings also occur. With reference to his "sensitive neurotics with ideas of self-reference" Kretschmer gives striking expression to this fact: "The affective state of these predominantly serious persons inclines toward persisting reactive gloom, but is not entirely that of constitutional depression; in individual cases indeed varying outbursts of joy and sorrow may lead almost to its designation as sanguine." The moodiness of the sensitive is evidently in the main reactive, yet combinations of reactive and autochthonous moodiness occur among them. Not infrequently the reactive lability of the sensitive is associated with the temperamental peculiarities of the gloomy dysphoric. It is not to be overlooked that in the gloomy mood there may be a considerable degree of vulnerability and sensitivity;

and furthermore, there are autochthonous poikilothymics and especially manic depressives who are markedly touchy both in depression and in irritability, while this characteristic is lacking in their more euphoric or balanced moods. Many of the gloomy have in common with the sensitive the clinging to past experience and the incapacity to put an end to an experience, Kretschmer's "restraint" (*Verhaltung*). Without knowledge of the history of a case it would be difficult in many instances to determine whether we are dealing with a sensitive person of gloomy disposition or with a melancholic who is so much restrained and so easily wounded that he gives the impression of sensitiveness. In both cases the restraint may go so far as to result in the formulation of ideas of self-reference.

The sensitive may be regarded in a certain sense as irritable persons with an inwardly directed excitability, but as a rule the irritable mood is not characteristic of them. They are rather, in so far as they have any distinctive variety of mood, for the most part anxious, very often gloomy, and more rarely ill-humored. Besides the lack of the irritable mood, what distinguishes them from the irritable, and also generally from the excitable, is their deficient capacity for discharge. Having a moderate or even deep affective resonance they restrain the course of psychic processes and express them generally in moderate or slow tempo with little vigor and so far as form is concerned often tenaciously and adherently.

This applies to those sensitive types whose temperamental structure is relatively simple, but it is not permissible to speak of pure sensitive types; there are all sorts of combinations. The construction of the temperament of the sensitive type becomes still more complicated, when clear hyperthymic components—irrita-

ble mood, excitability, mobile nature—or even athymic features are added to the reactive moodiness common to them all, and to the restraint arising out of the deficient capacity for discharge. Whereas many of the sensitive appear cool without being so, merely because they restrain their excitement and because their affective resonance is not easily recognized, there are undoubtedly also sensitive persons who are poor in affect. In their case there arise out of the colorless mood, out of the tendency to reactive moodiness without excitability, out of the deficient affective resonance, out of the quiet nature, and out of enormous vulnerability and extreme restraint, the peculiar types of the affectively poor or cool, or the slow and quiet sensitive. Of these there are all sorts of intermediate forms to the anxious sensitive and the anxious cool. In sharp contrast to the cool sensitives[36] are the sensitive gloomy types of great affective depth and genuine affective warmth. However, these contrasting types are linked by the basic components of sensitive types: reactive moodiness and restraint, which in themselves are by no means sufficient to constitute a sensitive temperament.

If reactive moodiness and restraint be ascribed to all sensitive types as a *conditio sine qua non,* it will become possible to speak of them as hyper- and hypothymic and more rarely as the athymic sensitive, according to the particular combinations in their temperamental structure. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that sensitive persons who are predominatingly hypothymic may have hyperthymic features and *vice versa.* On the other hand, hypo-, hyper-, and poi-

[36] These sensitive types are related in part to the so-called schizoids. In the case of these gloomy personalities who are easily offended and various other sensitive types this is seldom if ever true.

kilothymic persons occasionally show features of touchiness without its being possible to consider them simply as sensitive types. Ultimately, not everyone is to be regarded as of the sensitive type who occasionally (in some dysphoric mood or in physical fatigue or illness or, as frequently happens, during the menstrual period) becomes temporarily touchy.[37]

It remains to be said that in the case of many sensitive individuals excitement and tension may be pent up by means of restraint to the point where they have to come to some sort of release. This results either through a primitively explosive discharge preceding which there is not infrequently a marked irritability of mood, or through the development of sensitive reaction patterns: ideas of self-reference, compulsion phenomena, or under certain circumstances psychotic conditions, such as have been penetratingly described by Kretschmer. That here the character traits of the sensitive type play a very important rôle has been shown most convincingly. The present description of the sensitive remains to be completed in the subsequent consideration of character.

Remarks Concerning the Clinical Ranking of the Dysthymic

In the description of the poikilothymics discussion of the question of their clinical ranking has been avoided thus far. This has been done because we believe that it has become too much of a convenience in thinking—we intentionally do not say economy of thinking—to term every vivacious person a hypo-

[37] Here it may be remarked that the concepts supersensitiveness and delicacy of feeling are often interchanged among the laity. A supersensitive person can have delicacy of feeling but a person with delicacy of feeling need not be supersensitive.

maniac, every gloomy person a constitutional depressive, and to include every irritable person among those of irritable disposition, and every poikilothymic among the cyclothymics of the old style; in other words, to bring all conceivable types immediately into the ranks of the manic depressive cycle. This is certainly very convenient—whether it is right is another question. The question is not to be decided with any degree of certainty, but this much we can say: In the present state of our knowledge no one can assert that the manic depressive group can be in any sense sharply delimited. It will certainly be granted, however, that to force practically every hyperthymic and poikilothymic as well as every dysphoric psychopathic manifestation into this particular cycle would be to proceed on an unwarrantable assumption. Great as the analogies, the similarities, and even the congruencies may be, it has not yet been proved that those temperaments which we call hypomanic or depressive, or cyclothymic are really distinguishable from mania, melancholia, and manic depressive psychoses in nothing but degree. In many cases in which the temperaments in question are especially pronounced it is possible to speak without hesitation of hypomanic and depressive, etc., instead of cheerful and gloomy. This is especially the case when there is genealogical evidence for their affinity with the manic depressive group; and all the more so when in addition physical stigmata of the pyknic physique are present, and it thus becomes possible to apply the conception of the pyknic-cycloid constitution.[38] Even if this were not so we should consider it appropriate to make use of the unprejudiced terms which we employ. But the additional fact should not be overlooked that many a

[38] Cf. p. 71.

case is all too quickly closed with the label hypomanic or depressive or irritable temperament when on closer and clinically more unprejudiced study it is shown to be quite complicated and perhaps even not at all hypomanic, etc. Precisely in that era during which we were threatened with having nothing but cycloids and schizoids, there was an undoubted tendency in this field to proceed too quickly with clinical classification. Ewald has made some very appropriate remarks on this subject.

We attempted to extricate the vivacious from among the hyperthymics because we believe with regard to this type in particular that at most it is related only occasionally in certain combinations to the manic-depressive group. We believe it to be rather an independent psychopathic temperamental type, although undoubtedly many of the type may be classed with the so-called hypomaniacs.

On the other hand, as should be clear already from these remarks, it is far from our intention to include in an independent group those dysthymics who really belong in the manic depressive cycle or even to the pyknic-cycloid constitution. Such attempts would be by no means appropriate in the light of the findings of Kretschmer and his followers, which for some years we have regarded as correct and full of promise. But due respect to these findings should not betray us into blocking paths which must be kept open for future investigation.

The athymic and the sensitive should be grouped in accord with Kretschmer's theory, among the schizoid, or at least should be brought into closer relationship to them—a procedure which in the case of the latter would certainly not be correct from the standpoint of the total group. Full support and discussion of our atti-

tude with regard to the question of schizoidia must remain until later. It may be said at the outset that in the establishment of the athymic and sensitive types the aim has been to avoid the development of prejudices. The history of the "accordion conception" of schizoidia (Ewald) in which indeed we ourselves have had some share, has shown clearly enough the dubiousness of such diagnostic exaggerations and prejudices. We prefer to speak of schizoid types only when a genealogical connection with schizophrenia has been demonstrated. We are not unmindful of the fact that such a thing can occur without its being possible to demonstrate it, but we believe from our own experience that it is necessary in this matter to urge the greater caution and reserve. The attempt will not be made to elaborate our phenomenological or structural distinctions between the schizoid and non-schizoid athymic and sensitive: such an attempt would appear at present to be love's labor lost. It remains to be determined whether or not this will become possible in the future.

The excitable and the explosive, the anxious and the ill-humored remain still to be discussed. The first two, together with many of the irritable types, and some of the phlegmatic and torpid, have been related to the so-called epileptoid which has been described in various ways; Kurt Schneider calls the conception "one of the most obscure, one of the most momentous and one of the most laden with historical associations." It is true that in families with genuine epilepsy such dysthymic psychopathic types do occur, but like Schneider we are unable to admit that there has been any success hitherto in demonstrating legitimate correlations which would permit the establishment of one or several epileptoid psychopathic types. Neither the excellent observations of Francisca Minkowska nor the recent and

by no means corresponding investigations of Mauz appear to us sufficiently convincing to warrant any other position.

It has not been forgotten that the so-called affective epileptics (*Affekt-Epileptiker*)—irritable "unstable" psychopaths with supposed epileptiform attacks—have also been brought into relationship with epilepsy. In the meantime, not the psychopathic type, but the name affective epileptic has been discarded, this the more rightly because the case material showing epileptiform attacks has become constantly more dubious. It was, however, a vindication of the authors (Bratz and Leubuscher, who had described this type), when Lange was able recently to show the possibility of the occurrence of epileptiform attacks during violent excitement, under the influence of hyperventilation. The concept and name of affective epilepsy are not to be retained; that, in any case, was certainly not Lange's intention.

It would be well not to relate *generally* the excitable, explosive, and irritable to any of the great clinical groups: such types are ubiquitous. To be sure, however, certain irritable persons looked at from the clinical standpoint might be regarded as the representatives of irritable predisposition and as border-line cases of the manic depressive group. This matter has already been discussed.

The foregoing may also apply in the case of individual anxious or ill-humored personalities but certainly not in the case of all or even in the majority of cases. Anxiety and ill humor, excitability and irritability are *a priori* frequent phenomena everywhere and it seems hardly possible to reserve them for certain particular groups and their border-line cases. The same thing has been said regarding the cheerful, the

gloomy, etc. It is, nevertheless, an undisputed fact that in the close relationship of mood anomalies to the manic depressive group, no sharp lines can be drawn, not merely on the side of the cheerful, of the gloomy, and of the irritable, but also on the side of the anxious and the ill-humored, and every conceivable transition stage must occur.

At last it remains only to mention the reactive poikilothymic in pure type. There seems to be no possibility of connecting them with a definite clinical group. It would be a bit of legerdemain to hoist them across the autochthonous poikilothymics into a relationship with the manic depressive cycle. We consider the reactive poikilothymic as a psychopathic type in its own right, in this respect coming into a certain agreement with Kleist.

Concerning the Relationship between Impulse and Temperament

In the third chapter a few general remarks were made concerning the relationships between impulse and temperament. It was said that temperament is founded upon the physical bases and the impulses. It was stated that the physique and the impulse stratum furnish the motive power and set the temperament in motion. That was equivalent to saying that temperament is not an independent entity but a complex very deeply rooted in the structure of the personality. It is to be deduced directly that the quality of the temperament must be rooted in the quality of the corporeal and of the impulse-life. One might be tempted to make here a simple formula: strong temperament is rooted in strong impulse-life, and weak temperament in weak impulse-life and the corresponding corporeal. In this simplicity, the formula of course does not accord with experience.

Why this must be the case is clear at once from the construction of temperament. If the impulse-life might be transformed or elaborated as a unidimensional factor into temperament as a similarly unidimensional factor then it might be justifiable to attempt so simple a formulation. As a matter of fact the impulse-life is composed of a number of impulses, and temperament contains different constitutent factors which by no means always or even usually correspond to each other in tendency or account.

In all individuals impulses urge continually toward the satisfaction of need; so also with hyper-, hypo-, and poikilothymic temperaments. The impulses are always the same although of different intensity and different significance for the personality.

In the first place it is possible to ascribe to the hyperthymic a rather normal impulse-life, that is an impulse-life average in its intensity, but the fact should not be overlooked that an impulse-life of less than average strength occurs, although infrequently, in the vivacious, the excitable, the explosive, and the irritable as well as in the euphoric. However, it is a more frequent observation that in all hyperthymic types the intensity of impulse is above the average.

In the case of the hypothymic, it is not to be doubted that a moderate or a deficient intensity of impulse may condition their lack of impulse. But there may be especially in the case of the affectless, an intensity of impulse directed without inhibition against everything and everybody; to be sure this may be explained also on the basis of deficiency of the inhibitions.

Ultimately, there is no question that the mood-swings of the poikilothymic, especially of the autochthonous labile, may be based upon an ebb and flow in the impulse-life which in general rises with the euphoric

mood and falls with the dysphoric. But even here there is no hard and fast connection. There are euphoric conditions with a conspicuous lack of impulse and gloomy moods with a heavy impulse load. Is it necessary that all these observations, the multitude of which has scarcely been suggested, be simply accepted and registered as facts,—or is it possible to at least attempt an explanation?

The fact should be borne in mind that impulsive and temperamental processes are not merely physical processes, but are also psychic experiences. Indeed they spring from the corporeal but nevertheless they are *molded* by the whole personality and to a very large extent by the psychic personality. The same impulse and the same impulsive strength find in different personalities a very different expression. The same impulse, which in the case of an easily excitable and affectively lightly resonant temperament may find unhindered expression in a rapid, vigorous, and mobile nature, remains without effect in the viscous medium of a phlegmatic or gloomy temperament. This can be seen very clearly even without taking into consideration the direction by character. However, not every excitable temperament is also affectively resonant and not every excitable and highly resonant temperament is gifted with a mobile nature. Thus there are various possibilities which may stop the free course of an impulse-process. On the other hand in hypothymic temperaments hyperthymic elements may favor and advance impulsive processes. From this it may well follow that a certain correlation may be assumed between hyperthymic temperamental characteristics and the smooth courses of impulsive processes on the one hand, and between hypothymic temperamental characteristics and inhibitions of impulse on the other. Viewed from

the standpoint of impulse, this may be expressed by saying that, in general, hyperthymic, as opposed to hypothymic temperamental characteristics, rest on a positive as opposed to a negative impulsive basis. However, even when impulse and temperament apparently or actually do not correspond they may be brought together within the frame of the total personality—not always of course in complete harmony, for just this is the striking characteristic of many personalities, especially of psychopathic personalities, they represent

> Not a smoothly polished book
> But man with all his contradictions.[39]

At this point, the developmental curve of the impulse-life may be recalled. Uniform and distinctive as its movement is in general, just so numerous are its finer differences in the case of different temperamental types. Many parallels are to be noted between the developmental behavior of the temperament during the different age periods; to these, however, it is possible only to call attention. But it is by no means a question even here of fundamental coincidences between strength of impulse and richness of temperament.

In any case schematic dilettantism is not to be permitted to lead to the performance of transpositions in the construction of the personality. Always and everywhere the facts are to be respected.

We do not intend to enumerate in a series the countless possible combinations of impulse and temperament. In order to do so it would be necessary to rewrite the chapter on temperament many times enlarged by innumerable special remarks concerning the impulse-life. We content ourselves rather with having established the principles.

[39] Conrad Ferdinand Meyer.

CHAPTER VII

PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES CONSIDERED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CHARACTER

Psychopathic Character Types (Dystonic Psychopaths)

INTRODUCTORY

THE general discussion which remains to be made at this point is based on the considerations and definitions of the third and fourth chapters. Attention has been called to the fact that impulses have a general direction, that temperament *per se* is without direction, but that character, in accordance with our definition, has direction. The fact has been frequently stressed that these deductions are founded on abstractions. It is always essentially the entire personality which experiences and is experienced.

From the standpoint of character the question arises toward what the personality is directed, or, rather toward what the character of the personality is directed. There is no doubt as to the answer. The direction of character can only be toward the personality itself—the ego, or toward the environment—the non-ego. *All the purposes and set-goals of character must be derived from the attitude of the personality toward the ego and toward the environment, or else from the interaction of these two attitudes.*

A plant lives in its environment; it lives in relationship with parts and with the totality of its environment. The animal also lives in its environment but in the animal there are developed gradually active rela-

tionships to the environment which among the higher animals (for example, in the case of the dog or among apes) attain remarkable levels. The relationship to the environment becomes completely developed and conscious among men in whose individual evolution it develops according to the biogenetic principle. Man measures himself with the environment and measures the environment with himself. His system of reference necessarily becomes a system of purposes and values.

The relationship of the ego to the non-ego, that is the relationship of the personality to the environment, involves effort (*Leistung*) and effect (*Wirkung*). Indeed, the relationship to the environment is an effort through which purposes and values are created for the system of the personality, as for that of the environment, for the autotely and heterotely or hypertely (W. Stern). *The creation of values is the purpose and goal of the personality, is the purpose and goal of every ego.* Effort and effect are based on objective values, that is, on values which by way of enhancement of the store of self-values (*Selbstwertfülle*) are of benefit to the community in the narrower and broader sense. Unconsciously, objective values are produced also by plants and animals, but the human personality alone creates values consciously.[1] For concordant and for secondarily balanced discordant personalities the environment is the field of effect where their values are produced. The production of values is the immediate expression of the individual's relation to the environment, and its effects are just as permanent as the individual's efforts have been genuine. The individual's capacity (*Leistungsfaehigkeit*) and thus his character is deeply rooted causally in his physique, his impulse-life, and

[1] This does not mean that all the values it creates are brought forth consciously.

temperament; effort and effect of the personality are in the matter of direction determined by the character.

Side by side with effort stands appreciation or prestige (*Geltung*). The personality strives not only for effort but also for prestige. It desires, as it were, to see the values which it creates. By its effort it wins prestige which becomes part of its total self-valuation. In other words: by means of its effort and prestige the personality enriches its store of self-values.

All this applies on principle to the normal personality viewed from the standpoint of teleology and character, in so far as genuine purposes, goals, and values are involved. Even though the prestige of the personality or the enrichment of its self-values is always important, in the case of the normal, psychically balanced, socially adjusted personality it does not occupy the first place, but represents, as it were, a means to a purpose, that is, to the higher purpose of effort for the community, for the hypertely. One may speak of the normal striving for prestige as *the ambition for effort;* quite frequently one speaks in this sense of "healthy ambition."

The individual who is *ambitious for effort* exists for the world, for the environment. He lives and works for the environment and is more or less conscious of this fact. For him it is a matter of *doing and being, of genuine values and goals.* His opposite is the individual who is *ambitious for prestige,* of whom it may be said that he assumes, or acts as though he assumed, that the world exists for him. For the individual ambitious for prestige the important question is not that of serving society through his store of self-values, instead he seeks above all or even exclusively to enhance his self-valuation. For him it is a question of his *prestige and appearance, of pseudo-values and pseudo-goals.* For

him the environment is not a field of effect but a sounding board or a mirror for his ego-prestige, a stage for his vanity. If in the person who is ambitious for effort everything is true and genuine, in the case of the person who is ambitious for prestige things are neither genuine nor true, but are rather presented and enacted under the angle of the own ego.

It is clear that the person ambitious for effort not only feels himself as a part of the whole, but actually belongs to society and is able to be absorbed into it in a very high degree, whereas the ambitious for prestige stand in a certain opposition to the whole, to society, or place themselves in such opposition.

So there result two contrasting types to be called the *environmental type* and the *ego-type.* By these terms we mean about what Jung meant by his extraverted and introverted types. Our two types also partially coincide with the objective and subjective types of Künkel.[2] The environmental type is objective in so far as it permits the non-ego to attain its own rights, in so far as it incorporates itself in or even under certain circumstances subordinates itself to the hypertely. The ego-type is subjective or non-objective because it sees everything from the standpoint of its own ego and makes concessions to the non-ego only in so far as it considers these necessary.

Of course the ego-type and the environmental type in any such sharp relief as pictured here are little more than abstractions. Seeking their representatives in the realm of the normal we encounter the types of the egoist and the altruist. It should be stated at the outset that with these there is no rigid *either-or* such as has

[2] We have already discussed in some detail our attitude toward the doctrines of Alfred Adler's individual psychology which Künkel represents. Cf. p. 9.

been ascribed to the hypothetical ego and environmental types, but a conciliatory *both-and.* It is true that the egoists are interested chiefly in themselves, the altruists chiefly in the environment, but the latter do not entirely overlook the ego in their set-goals and the former are not without any relation to the environment. In different personalities the part played in the total set-goals by the relation to the ego and to the environment (*Ich- und Umweltbeziehung*) varies greatly. But even in the case of one and the same person the direction of character is by no means constant but varies in scope within the frame of the personal development. *Character is to a large extent formed by environment and destiny despite its causal-biological substructure* which indeed may develop or regress even in the course of a lifetime. In this fact lie a multitude of possibilities for character development and so for the development of the personality as a whole and for its destiny. There is also included the possibility of influencing personality development from the outside. Herein lies one of the most important factors for personality development: education and educability, the limits of which are determined by the causal basis of the character. It is merely possible to mention this fact in passing.

The variety of the participation of ego-concern and environmental concern (*Ich-Bezogenheit und Umweltbezogenheit*) in the whole set-goals conditions a special capacity present in every personality—the *capacity for conflict.* Conflicts may arise out of any lack of harmony between the ego and the environment; in this there is nothing necessarily psychopathic, any more than a more or less marked inclination toward the environment or toward the ego is psychopathic in itself. Where, however, the lack of harmony in the relation-

ship between ego and environment is a part of the order of the day, where especially the ego-concern (*Ich-Bezogenheit*) continually stands out in some particular form and in continual sharp relief clashing with the environment, and where thereby the integration of the autotely is permanently impaired—ultimately where effort is controlled and impaired by prestige—in such cases from the point of view of character and teleology the psychopathic becomes evident.

Because belonging to the causal system of the personality, all impulsive and temperamental deviations must, in some way or other, have a precipitate in the personal system of purposes and values, it is possible —so to speak secondarily—to approach the psychopathic from the standpoint of character. It is not the present intention to elaborate further the foregoing assumption that it does not seem proper to us to view the psychopathic personality from the standpoint of character *alone* or to interpret it merely as character variations of the human personality.

An essential feature of the normal personality is the fact that its goal-striving activity[3]—its value-creating effort—is organized and rests upon a well-balanced valuation of the ego and of the non-ego. From the subjective standpoint one might formulate the concept of the personality according to goals and values in some such way as the following: I know who I am; I know what I am; I strive toward definite (genuine) goals and values. This is the presupposition in our teleological definition of the psychopathic personality, the personality impaired in its unified, goal-striving activity by quantitative deviations in its valuation of its ego and of the non-ego, which lead to the setting of pseudo-

[3] Cf. W. Stern and the explanations in chaps. iii and iv.

values and pseudo-goals. Behind the quantitative deviations in ego- and non-ego-valuation, there are to be sought quantitative deviations in relation to the ego and to the environment, the causal basis of which is to be found in the physique, impulse-life, and temperament.

If we proceed now to consider psychopathic personalities from the standpoint of teleology and character, the approach to the task must be from five points of view, namely:

1. The concern for ego and for environment, or ego-concern and environmental concern.[4]
2. The valuation of the self, or ego-valuation (self-valuation).[5]
3. The valuation of the foreign, or non-ego-valuation.[6]
4. The establishment of goals, or set-goals.[7]

In these four points of view we start from the personality and proceed outward. They may be supplemented by a fifth which sets out from the environment; this may be designated as:

5. The effect of the environment on the personality.

It is necessary to keep in mind from the start the fact that the impulsive and temperamental psychopath, the impulsive and dysthymic personality, may attain to a certain balance in the establishment of goals in the sense that we have called "secondary balancing." This may occur without any disappearance of the impulsive or dysthymic psychopathic deviations and without their becoming entirely unimportant. Mention may be made of the fact that in this connection intelligence may play a large part.

In the case of the psychopathic personality the goals

[4] *Ich- und Umwelt-Bezogenheit.*
[5] *Selbst-Wertung.*
[6] *Fremd-Wertung.*
[7] *Zielsetzung.*

seem to be determined through an overstressing of ego-value whether it be over- or undervaluation of the self or an oscillation between these two. This excessive preoccupation with the own ego—as it is perhaps most clearly expressed—we consider to be the common characteristic in the psychopathic attitude and set-goals. It is certainly true of psychopaths that they consider themselves too important; this tendency may show itself in different forms; it has, moreover, different causal conditions. Even when psychopathic personalities act appropriately from the standpoint of objective values, something which fortunately often happens, they are always inclined to call attention to this fact and to regard it as especially meritorious either in itself or because of the very severity of their inner conflicts. Clearly the way to all human vanity is here laid open.

From the fact of *excessive preoccupation with the own ego* or from the *overstressing of the question of the ego-value* it seems possible to establish five types of psychopathic character: (1) the active autist, (2) the egocentric, (3) the ambitendent, (4) the passive autist, (5) the ego-searcher.

In this series these types take their places between the poles of the ego-type and the environmental type. The active autist and the egocentric belong together through their ego-overvaluation; the passive autist and the ego-searcher are bound together through the ego-undervaluation. Between the two groups of the ego-overvaluation and the ego-undervaluation stands the ambitendent whose ego-valuation oscillates. It is possible to see in them the common basis from which the types of the two other groups may develop. The types of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation are, in so far as they are not schematic abstractions, very seldom

entirely pure in the matter of the self-valuation but frequently show suggestions or elements of ambitendency. On the other hand however, it is possible to consider the great middle group of the ambitendent as combinations of the two other types, especially if the attempt be made to explain their occurrence in the light of genetic studies in psychiatry.

1. *Types of Ego-Overvaluation*

There is inherent in every personality as an expression of its impulse to self-preservation some degree of *self-assertion.* In a certain sense one may see in *self-assertion* the masculine principle which in pursuance of its biological task meets life in a more active and aggressive fashion while in the typical feminine type with its tendency toward passivity, toward suffering and submission, devotion manifests itself even to the point of self-surrender. Now exclusive self-assertion in the case of the man and complete surrender in the case of the woman are at least an extremely rare occurrence —in the last analysis for biological reasons: any too stubborn self-assertion must result in the breaking off of harmonious interrelations with the environment, while complete self-surrender would likewise make impossible the fulfilment of social obligations. It follows that the interplay between self-assertion and devotion, from whichever side it be considered in this connection, is a biological and even more a psychological necessity. It follows also that deviations in this interplay must result in disturbances in the structure of the personality and in its—character—relations with the environment. It is impossible to determine in general just where the psychopathic begins, but psychopathy must be judged from case to case in the light of the total personal and environmental situation.

If it be assumed that a certain personality shows an overemphasis in its self-assertion, in its ego-concern, then the entire system of its values and goals will be centered toward this overemphasis. The ego, the own personality, becomes the main point upon which the eyes are fixed. This may be termed *ego-inclination* (*Ich-Zuwendung*); the extreme of ego-inclination is ego-intensification (*Ver-Ichung*—Hoffmann).

Hand in hand with ego-inclination there is generally speaking a turning away from the environment. When the ego-inclination is accompanied by overvaluation of the ego, the value-system of the personality is complemented by an undervaluation of the environment together with its purposes and goals, that is undervaluation of the foreign, or of the non-ego.

From this it follows that the goal of the types under discussion is, for the ego: the enhancement of the prestige of the own personality, the *ego-prestige,* and for the relationship to the environment: the *will to power.*

The attempt will be made now to distinguish two types of ego-overvaluation: the active autist and the egocentric; we anticipate that in the former the will to power, and in the latter the ego-prestige, plays the more important rôle.

A. THE ACTIVE AUTIST

The overstressing of the ego-concern, the exaggerated ego-inclination, characteristic of the active autist, is primarily related to something entirely positive: to the feeling or consciousness of peculiarity, that is of the high value of the own personality, to the *ego-strength.* A marked sense of strength with regard to himself may characterize the normal person also but in this case it is expressed in an entirely different manner. The ego-strength of the active autist gives to his

Psychopathic Character Types (Dystonic Psychopaths)

	Relation to the ego	*Relationship to the environment according to form*	*Relationship to the environment according to direction*	*Valuation of the ego*	*Valuation of the non-ego*	*Goal*
1. ego-overvaluation						
a. the active autist	self-assertion ego-inclination	active; sthenic	denial	ego-overvaluation	undervaluation of the non-ego	ego-prestige *for the sake* of the ego in *opposition* to the environment, power
b. the egocentric	self-assertion ego-inclination	active with passive features; sthenic with asthenic features	demand	ego-overvaluation with overcompensation	undervaluation of the non-ego on the basis of overcompensation	ego-prestige over the environment, pseudo-power
2. ego-undervaluation						
c. the passive autist	anxiety concerning the ego	passive with active features; asthenic with sthenic features	flight	ego-undervaluation with tendencies toward overcompensation	overvaluation of the non-ego	ego-protection
d. the ego-searcher	self-surrender	passive; asthenic	submission	ego-undervaluation	overvaluation of the non-ego	ego-searching
3. the ambitendent	vacillation between self-assertion and self-surrender	active-passive; sthenic-asthenic	rejection *and* flight; demand *and* submission	vacillating between ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation	vacillating between over- and undervaluation of the non-ego	ego-prestige with ego-protection and ego-searching

relationship to the environment an active sthenic form, but it lends at the same time to the relationship to the environment a peculiar negative direction. That is, the active autist more or less rejects or denies his environment on the basis of his ego-strength. This denial may assume the coloring of contempt; it may lead to an almost complete exclusion of the environment from the system of purposes of this type. This does not mean that the active autist can live entirely without any environment; his rejection is a condition of tension between the ego and the environment, in a certain sense directed against the good diplomatic relationship between the ego and the non-ego. The active autist lives with his environment on the basis of declared war and thanks to his ego-strength, to his activity and sthenia he stands often in the guise of the conqueror. If the conquest fails according to his conception, then his attitude may become transformed into the bearing of an irreconcilable enemy, who, however, does not feel himself conquered but instead retains the consciousness of having behind him a battle in which he has shown himself at least equal to the superior forces. Very fine distinctions in the structure of the personality and in the total situation, determine whether and to what extent the battle against the environment will be continued, or whether and when the active autist will stand entirely aside despising the environment as it passes by. In case, for example, the battle appears to an intelligent active autist to be futile from the start, he will soon give it up. He will do the same thing when he adjudges the proportion of forces in the situation of the moment to be unfavorable to himself. However, he may renew the battle repeatedly and he will continue or desist in the constant conviction that he is in the right and that he alone is fighting for a good cause. He will never seek

within himself the reason for the failure. Thus there may result from the great struggle between the ego and the non-ego a sort of guerilla warfare in which the active autist is continually attempting to take small advantages at the expense of his environment.

There is, so to speak, a lack of social feeling from which all the attitudes and actions of the active autist arise. His fellow men seem to him to be obviously less in the right than he himself. He lacks to a high degree and sometimes entirely the capacity for any sort of the experience of the Thou (*Du-Erlebnis*). The active autist never attempts to reëxperience the feelings of another person, to understand his motives, or to do justice to his strivings. Thus there becomes understandable the exaggerated ego-overvaluation which rises from a basis in ego-strength and may become obvious in every action and utterance of this type. Similarly with the scornful undervaluation of all foreign purposes that to the extent to which they are noticed at all are brushed aside with a wave of the hand.

I am I, there exists nothing outside of me—that is in a word the *Leitmotif* of the active autist who, on the basis of his ego-overvaluation, attempts to subject to his will to power everything he meets, or better said—everything he bumps against. The active autist does not need the recognition from the community for the satisfaction of his autistic striving for prestige. He does not seek its resonance but makes use of the community as far as he needs it in a ruthless and brutal manner, or sometimes more reservedly and shyly depending on the situation and the particular conditions of his own structure. The active autist blankly passes by his environment, or cleaves his way through the midst of it completely ignoring its values. His goal is the *increase of his power,* the increase of his prestige

in his own eyes and for himself. To his prestige in the eyes of the environment and to his valuation by the environment he scarcely gives a thought. Here belong the ruthlessly and brutally powerful natures whose only means of progress is force and to whom it never occurs to consider the interests of individuals or of the community—for example, tyrants who are affectless and affectively cold and occasionally of considerable impulsive strength; furthermore cool tachythymic warriors, the essence of whose life is restlessness and battle, and ultimately the "born criminal."[8]

It should be added here that also the personalities who in a marked or extreme degree depreciate the environment, are not able to proceed entirely without any positive attitude toward the values and goals of the environment. Even where the set-goals are very peculiar and from the standpoint of the subject unique, they stand inevitably in some sort of relationship with the potential goals of the community. The paranoiac also who develops himself into a world savior would not be able to do so were not the concept of world savior present and valued in the community. Nevertheless the pose of savior of the active autist and particularly of the egocentric psychopath is a pseudo-value and a pseudo-goal. Similarly with active autistic psychopaths, who reach less high in their pseudo-goals, there are present thoroughly real relationships to the hypertely: the striving for a high position, the ambition for artistic or a scientific prestige, correspond despite

[8] It is biased and inexact always to wish to explain the antisocial attitude of criminal man on the basis of "social discouragement." Even in some of the cases with regard to which it is correct to speak in this way, it is not this factor which plays the chief rôle in the criminal. Of course "social discouragement" can be demonstrated everywhere if one sets out to find it.

all autistic or egocentric attitudes to real values which as we constantly reiterate may come into their rights. This fact is of practical significance in that it warns against considering the psychopath *a priori* from the social standpoint or the standpoint of the hypertely with pronounced depreciating tendencies. *Ultimately for the community it is not always so important just how a personality is related to it from the point of view of effort, prestige, valuation, and set-goals; the major interest of the community in the personality centers far more about the question: What on the whole is the result for the hypertely of the existence of the personality?* There is no doubt that the values of the community may gain much more from some psychopathic personalities, even if indirectly, than from a great number of well-balanced normal average personalities. This is not to overlook the fact that the effort of the latter usually serves better the gradually progressive development of the community, whereas the psychopathic personality, in so far as its effect is above the average, operates often in an intermittent or explosive manner and may bring into its near and more distant environment restlessness and, more than that, occasionally upheaval and revolution.

B. THE EGOCENTRIC

With the egocentric, much more than with the active autist the effort falls into the background in favor of the prestige and his goals and values become pseudo-goals and pseudo-values because there is no adjustment to the heterotely and hypertely.

The egocentric is distinguished from the active autist fundamentally on the basis of *ego-weakness,* of lack in a primal feeling of strength and of security. The egocentric ego is as it were imbedded in a medium of *inse-*

curity out of which it necessarily develops *feelings of inferiority.* Thus the exaggerated ego-inclination and the ego-overvaluation of the egocentric are not direct and obvious as in the case of the active autist but are indirect, signifying a protest against the existence of ego-weakness. However, the ego-weakness of the egocentric is not an absolute but a relative weakness, that is, from the point of view of the ego it is greater than corresponds to the egocentric's demands, and objectively considered it is less marked than in other types which are to be discussed later. The relative ego-weakness of the egocentric is equipped nevertheless with so much activity and sthenia that it can act, making it possible for the personality to accomplish in its way something toward the satisfaction of its demands; the personality is impeded however by certain limitations and lack of freedom. It is possible to say that egocentric activity and sthenia contain passive and asthenic elements from which mechanisms may be derived which are never found in the active autistic type.

From the relative ego-weakness and the incomplete activity and sthenia of the egocentric arises the particular direction of his environmental concern which can be designated as *demand on the environment.* The egocentric cannot reject the environment because he is too weak; he needs the environment permanently because he must always make demands to it for the satisfaction of his *egocentric striving for prestige,* that is, of *his ambition for prestige.* So the attitude of the egocentric toward the community is less asocial than that of the active autist. It is in accord with the egocentric's motto: *How can I best gain prestige among the others? How can I surpass the others in prestige?* Thus effort *per se* together with objective and genuine values recede into the background, and the whole bearing of the

personality becomes increasingly dominated by the tendency to use its actions and its omissions for the sake of its own ego, and to win and store up subjective values, that is, pseudo-values for the glorification of its own personality. It is characteristic of these types that they can make themselves, so to speak, drunk in recounting their successes, in telling of their excellence and of everything that seems to them effort, whereas it is really nothing but a fostering of their ego-prestige. Herein lies a considerable and sometimes tremendous *overvaluation of the own ego:* the ego worships itself as its own goddess. Accompanying the overvaluation of the self there is necessary a *devaluation of the non-ego.*[9] The higher the ego values itself and the higher it places pseudo-values which it considers or pretends to consider genuine values, the greater becomes the disparity between those pseudo-values and the values of others and so of objective values. The personality whose egocentricity is overinflated rises higher and higher and comes more and more to look down on others, who in their subjection to commonplace, plebeian, philistine values are unable to keep pace with the soaring egocentric. Occasionally this goes so far that every other personality is depreciated and it becomes for the egocentric the natural order of the day to meet every other person in a depreciating attitude, to see in him primarily and not infrequently exclusively poor qualities and defects; then the attitude, valuation, and set-goals of every other person may be degraded and ridiculed: the egocentric sees the mote in his brother's eye but not the beam in his own.

Since only genuine values lead to genuine goals the set-goals of such ego-types must go awry. By necessity

[9] *Fremd-Entwertung.*

they ignore the community which both in its single members and as a whole they degrade and hold at a distance. They entangle themselves more or less with a *pseudo-goal* which ultimately means nothing but self-enhancement of their own personalities. The ambition for prestige runs wild in them; their behavior, their set-goals, which rested from the outset on the uncertain ground of a relative ego-weakness, lose all contact with the earth. They make the impression of being false and indeed they are not genuine. Instead of living their own lives they play a rôle or some rôles, in a theater which they establish for themselves, and from the stage of which they look down in inner tension to see whether they are being watched and are receiving sufficient attention. According to their intellectual endowment their rôle is empty or possibly filled with amusing content. According to the tenacity of their wills they are able to impress a grateful and often unsuspecting audience. It should be noted that apart from its psychopathic peculiarity a person of this type, according to the degree to which he is gifted, may possess valuable qualities and characteristics even from the objective standpoint. Furthermore in the psychopath himself everything is not always psychopathic. The really valuable qualities, however, only too often are not entirely effective: they do not permeate the personality which is using them not for effort but instead for pose, for the sake of prestige—as properties in its theatrical play.

From the foregoing remarks it should be clear that in the egocentric the *will to power* rests in his ambition for prestige, and is in a sense *secondary* to it. Whereas the active autist directly and with little regard for his environment lives out his will to power, the egocentric

is intent on prestige from the environment. *The active autist enjoys the power itself, the egocentric enjoys a pseudo-power indirectly through the admiration of others:* he is so strongly impressed with his relative ego-weakness that without the appreciation of his environment he can hardly believe in his own importance.

The relative ego-weakness, the particular ego-concern, and the egocentric demands on the environment make intelligible the attitude and the capacity of the egocentric personality with regard to his experience of a Thou. The egocentric, often intellectually active, skilled in many rôles, endowed, thanks to his ego-weakness, with a rather infirm consciousness of personality, frequently shows a marked capacity for empathy. Thus he would be essentially well fitted for the Thou-experience, but his capacity for the Thou-experience is limited by his ego-weakness which prevents him from giving himself sufficiently to a Thou, and thus considerably limits his total capacity for experience. The egocentric's experience of a Thou may however assume a peculiar form according to his activity and to his special giftedness for playing rôles. Though often enough poor in himself in regard to content many an egocentric is able to stuff his ego with the content of foreign egos and in this way to identify himself more or less completely for a longer or shorter time with another personality. Herein lies the secret of the often remarkable theatrical ability shown by these egocentrics. It need not be explained that this identification marks a deviation from the experience of a Thou in the true sense, for ultimately it is related not to the Thou but rather to the prestige of the ego or of a pseudo-ego. However, the ego of the egocentric is not at such a distance from the Thou as is the case with the active autist. On this

account the isolation of the ego reaches a far higher grade in the active autist than in the egocentric.[10]

It may be remarked here that the egocentric ego types derive in gradual transition stages from the normal egoists who are not in any sense free from the striving for prestige. Even the normal personality, especially the normal egoist in his striving toward an enrichment of the store of his self-values makes efforts for the benefit of others, that is, for the community, directly by his effort and indirectly by his prestige. In the egocentric on the other hand striving for effort gives place to the ambition for prestige; it becomes his goal to gain prestige for himself and above all others.

Just as it is impossible to sharply distinguish egocentricity from egoism, so is there no definite boundary to be drawn between egocentricity and active autism. Numerous egocentrics, but also some egoists, show autistic tendencies. Many autists have egocentric traits in so far as they like to get a certain prestige from others, that is, they have some ambition for prestige. There is, for example, the frequent type of the eccentric autistic collector for whom no path is too crooked for the indulgence of his passion for collecting; who sits alone and shut in with his treasures. Some of these collectors, furthermore, need occasionally to show their possessions or at least to get them talked about. In these personalities there is to be found now and then behind the autistic turning away from the environment an eccentric desire for prestige in the sense that from the consciousness of being a mysterious object of curiosity and of sensationalism, of envy and of jealousy, the feeling

[10] The *Ver-Ichung,* as well as we are yet able to determine, reaches its greatest extent in the schizophrenic experience which does not belong to the sphere of the present considerations.

may be developed of living far *above* the others. However, we would like to assume that in the typical active autist as opposed to the typical egocentric the ambition for prestige hardly plays a rôle. We have in mind active autistic personalities who, free from all ambition for prestige, go their often difficult ways with a remarkable, not infrequently offensive, directness without looking to the right or to the left; many such persons whose lives have been lived apart from the community leave to the community real values which have been created without any regard and without any thought of the environment and the contemporaries or their appreciation, and have given meaning, purpose, and value, to a strange unrecognized existence.

Here the dominion of the heterotely and hypertely makes its appearance. Little as the active autistic and the egocentric ego-types are themselves concerned with the creation of objective values, the community nevertheless obviously comes into its rights through them. All that is usable in the creations of the autistic's or egocentric's striving for prestige, without, and even contrary to, the intention of the individual concerned, finds its way into the values and goals of the community. What is born of a desire for prestige as a pseudo-effort can be freed from the personality through the higher system of purposes and thus takes its place among the objective values of the community. An action springing from the sheerest ego-attitude or from the wildest ambition for prestige, the deed of an active autistic leader, or the work of an egocentric (hysterical) artist, may lead to an advance for the community or to the enrichment of its cultural life and possession. Pseudo-values may become genuine values, the most extreme subjectivity (*Unsachlichkeit*) in the personality may become for the community the most extreme

objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*). These facts paradoxical as they may primarily appear become comprehensible through the consideration and appreciation of the autotelic, the heterotelic, and the hypertelic systems.

2. *Types of Ego-Undervaluation*

In the life of every person there exist not only activity and self-assertion but also *passivity* and *submission.* From a purely biological point of view the personality not only lives but also is lived. From the psychological point of view it experiences not only by going out into the environment in response to its own vitality, but also by allowing the environment to act upon it, in some sense submitting to the environment. If the active side of the experience finds its clearest expression in the impulse to self-preservation and thence in self-assertion, the passive side of the experience finds its clearest expression in the sex impulse and a submissive inclination toward the Thou. Unmistakably as the masculine principle preserves here also its higher activity as opposed to the feminine principle, the fact is just as little to be overlooked that in the concrete case the masculine sexuality contains factors of submission. Conversely the woman, thanks to her self-assertion, usually does not completely lose herself in her submission. The submission of the personality is not limited to the realm of sexuality in the broadest sense but involves all realms of psychophysical experience. In submission the personality fulfils in the deepest sense its obligation to the environment; in the construction of the personal and supra-personal system of purposes submission is just as naturally *conditio sine qua non* as self-assertion.

In the submission is undoubtedly contained the tendency to subordinate ego-values to non-ego-values. In

other words: submission is bound up with undervaluation of the ego and overvaluation of the non-ego; correspondingly undervaluation of the ego and overvaluation of the non-ego not merely favor submission but also bring it about. In the psychopathic character types to be discussed in the following pages two conditions are to be considered from the point of view of submission: on the one hand there may be present an anxiety concerning the submission, on the other hand the submission may assume an exaggerated form. The former is the case with the passive autist, the latter with the self-seeker.

C. THE PASSIVE AUTIST

The psychopathic character type in which the ego-concern is characterized by an *anxiety concerning the ego* (ego-anxiety) we have termed passive autist. We subsume in this ego-anxiety the feeling or the consciousness of *ego-weakness* and *ego-insecurity,* on the basis of which the personality finds its relationship toward the environment determined by an attitude of self-protection, or defense, not infrequently even of flight. The yearning[11] for the non-ego, which is often present in such types in a high degree, is suppressed by the fact that the environment is experienced as stronger and hence as dangerous and inimical to the weak ego. Here the antithesis to the conquering attitude of the active autist is striking. The passive autist seeks his welfare in turning from the environment and withdrawing into himself, in isolation. He comes to ego-isolation in which he feels himself safest, or the least unsafe, and in any case protected against the demands of the community. His relationship to the envi-

[11] We do not overlook the fact that ambitendent tensions are to be found here.

ronment is hence predominantly passive and asthenic but it contains frequently a rather evident active sthenic element in the defense against the environment. The ego-anxiety is most intimately interwoven with anxiety concerning the environment (fear of the environment),[12] springing also from ego-weakness. Should the passive autist, as the result of his longing for the society and for submission to a non-ego, be led owing to some active sthenic elements to attempt a step in the direction of the environment in order after all to have a part in the community, the attempt usually falls through because the anxiety concerning the ego and the environment is too great and the active sthenic swing too slight and too ephemeric. The matter usually rests with shy timid attempts, the failure of which usually leads to an enhancement of the ego-isolation.

Commonly the lack of capacity for experience relative to the "I" and the "Thou" corresponds in the passive autist to his ego-weakness and ego-anxiety. He does not make his place nor does he allow men and things to approach him. So he is unable to really experience himself as well as others and he remains always caught in a kind of fragmentary experience. He fails to assert himself completely and he cannot submit because fundamentally he seeks but *one* goal: ego-protection, the protection of his own personality which he always feels to be weak and beset on all sides. His goal direction is *impotence* and *resentment:* refusing to act and to face the perils of the environment he prefers to live outside the struggle of life as on a well-protected island.

It is conceivable that the passive autist should value

[12] Cf. n. 25, p. 201.

himself rightly and on the basis of a true ego-valuation should adjust his goals to the community, but the experience of ego-weakness has such dominion over him that instead he inevitably arrives at ego-undervaluation. On the other hand he overestimates the environment both as to its values in general as to its supposedly inimical behavior against himself in particular. He combines overvaluation of the non-ego with undervaluation of the ego. The overvaluation of the non-ego tends to assume in him a stamp of resentment on the basis of which he occasionally undertakes those active sthenic "assaults" against his more happily endowed fellow men and against the institutions of the community.

It is clear that effort as a social act is not included in the program of the passive autist. His major and permanent goal—ego-security—is a pseudo-goal and thoroughly subjective.

D. THE EGO-SEARCHER

Like the passive autist, the ego-searcher also is characterized by marked ego-weakness. Whereas the former, however, in his ego-anxiety arrives at ego-isolation (direction: *Ver-Ichung,* that is, ego-intensification) the latter seeks his salvation in diverting from the ego[13] (direction: *Ent-Ichung,* that is, ego-alienation). The ego-searcher faces the environment not inimically but with a passive asthenic longing, as it were, a *passive inclination;* he wants to be "taken" by the environment. *Submission* is the form of his environmental concern. This means undoubtedly devotion, but devotion of a particular kind.

Devotion, the self-surrender in service of one's fel-

[13] Diversion from the ego or ego-diversion (*Ich-Abwendung*) as the opposite of ego-inclination (*Ich-Zuwendung*).

low men, or of ideas, may in the normal person run to very high degrees but it always remains related to a normal autotely and heterotely or hypertely. Yet the devotion in such cases is not in the focus of the personality but is merely a means to the attainment of effort for the community.

The devotion of the ego-searcher, which as already noted is really an allowing of the self to be taken, is itself focal. The ego-searcher finds his satisfaction in his readiness to submit and becomes inebriated in his devotion, for devotion is his ultimate goal and value. But this devotion is merely apparent; by its means no effort for the non-ego is sought, to say nothing of being attained. Thus this devotion is nothing else than a pseudo-goal and a pseudo-value. The devotion of the ego-searcher is not concerned with the non-ego to which it is apparently related, but concerns instead his own ego which is sought in every experience and particularly in every experience with a Thou (ego-searching). The goal of the ego-searcher is his own ego in the particular experience of ego-searching; like every definite ego-goal it is devoid of effort; it is a mirage. The ego-goal of the ego-searcher stands like that of the passive autist under the banner of *impotence.*

In his apparent or pseudo-devotion the ego-searcher presents his inferiority to his own ego (and to the environment so far as it may be interested) but in so doing he presents simultaneously his peculiarity. Here to be sure there is betrayed the participation of a certain *striving for prestige* which is hidden and shuns open presentation of itself. Much sacrificial courage all too loudly stressed and much compassion only too evidently courting the attention of the environment belong here both deriving from the ego-weakness and from the consciousness of the own inferiority, aiming,

to be sure, toward attraction of attention but also toward depreciation of the ego.[14] The personality seems to say: *I am worth nothing and so I sacrifice myself for the others! I exist only for others! Behold how I sacrifice myself!* Usually accompanying this ego-depreciation[14] is an overvaluation of the non-ego which like the former frequently is very impressively and vigorously expressed: the others are stronger, better, brighter, more successful, happier, and more respectable than I am, and hence it is no more than right and just that I should stand back, that I should sacrifice myself for them. This psychic Cinderella-hood doubtlessly springs from the tendency to self-depreciation even though it now and then is accompanied by the striving for prestige. Generally the self-undervaluation and the overvaluation of the non-ego are stronger in the ego-searcher than in the passive autist.

The tendency to self-depreciation not infrequently brings with it in the ego-searcher the passion to submit and to suffer. In the *passion and longing for subjection and suffering* the self-depreciation is lived out most impressively for the ego and for the environment. Here occur personalities who have a real "urge" to subordinate themselves, to escape independent decisions, to be advised by others—eternal subalterns. This reaches even to so-called bondage, that is a bearing in which the personality seems to find its highest pleasure in slavish obedience to a master or mistress, the associated humiliations of every sort being almost eagerly sought and enjoyed. It is evident that such a path leads to masochism. It may be said in passing that the opposite pole, that is, self-overvaluation in the sense of an exaggerated mastery with a tendency toward enslave-

[14] *Selbst-Entwertung.*

ment and suppression of others (in certain active autists and egocentrics), points toward sadism.

The ego-searcher can apparently become merged in the Thou-experience, with ecstatic ardor. Actually however he seeks in the Thou-experience only his own ego and attains only a pseudo-devotion, not a true experience of the Thou. He is like a person who tries to swim without trusting himself to the water and without getting wet.

Out of the ego-weakness and the ego-anxiety, out of the longing for and the anxiety over the non-ego, is developed in the ego-searcher an attitude of *resentment:* of envy of the more highly valued fellow man, in whom it is possible to see the outward projection of his own feeling of inferiority. An essential rôle with regard to the goal-direction of the ego-searcher may be played by the *"will to impotence,"* speaking in conscious antithesis to the "will to power." In his will to impotence as already intimated the ego-searcher may under certain circumstances satisfy his striving for prestige.

The diversion from the ego—being ultimately merely apparent in the case of the ego-searcher—tends toward ego-alienation (*Ent-Ichung*), toward dissolution of the ego, toward unification with the Thou. This may be attained in the normal personality in devoted love, and in devoted faith; occasionally it is pathological beyond doubt and belongs partially to schizophrenia (Storch's case may be recalled: "I and Thou—are they not the same thing?"). The deep significance of the dissolution of the ego for the problem of *Weltanschauung* is not to be considered here. It may be mentioned, however, that *self-destruction,* as a particular form of ego-dissolution, may be derived from the realm of psychopathic self-depreciation. Here it becomes a question of suicides, who recognizing their own incapacity for life

and experience whether absolute or relative, despair of the purpose and value of their lives.

The primary inclination toward the environment, Jung's extraversion, is the central problem of community life and community experience. The extraversion of the ego-searcher is as little primary as the inclination toward the environment in our egocentric, for both need the environment for their ego-purposes: the egocentric finding the public necessary for his prestige, the ego-searcher being compelled to display before the environment his inferiority. It has been explained that objective values for the community may accrue out of the ambition for prestige in the egocentric; the same is true analogously for the ego-searcher. Psychopathic sacrificial courage, which is exaggerated and overstressed, psychopathic longing for suffering, and psychopathic compassion, which ultimately concerns merely the own ego, being pseudo-values are all inadequate for the filling out of the autotely, but may attain significance for the goals and values of the community. Furthermore it is important for the community if personalities which feel themselves unequal to its demands nevertheless become effective in the shadows of others, thus giving what power they have.

The ego-searcher is readily differentiated from the passive autist in the well-defined type but there exist also transitional stages between them. Reference may be made to the factors in common, the undervaluation of the ego, the overvaluation of the non-ego, and the insecurity. It may be said that tendencies toward ego-isolation are found in company with tendencies toward ego-diversion, ego-anxiety is found side by side with pseudo-devotion, and ultimately ego-searching occurs together with ego-protection, and resentment with the will to impotence.

3. *The Ambitendent Type*

In the foregoing attempt to characterize and contrast the types of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation it has frequently been difficult to bring out the differences, particularly the contrasts. Furthermore the fact is not to be mistaken that the active autists and the egocentrics on the one hand, the passive autists and the ego-searchers on the other, are not sharply distinguishable however clear-cut may be the picture of the extreme types. Here, also, pure types are rare. Nevertheless we are of the opinion that the four types just described are fundamentally different in that they are characterized by peculiar attitudes toward the ego as well as toward the environment, together with peculiar set-goals or set-pseudo-goals. These attitudes very much "diluted" occur in very many, perhaps in all, persons; in "concentration" it determines to a great extent the psychopathic character peculiarity of our types. Now if two or three or even four of these attitudes in a state of "dilution" may occur simultaneously or successively in the same individual it is possible also that antithetical attitudes may occur in "higher concentration" in *one* personality, and the foundation for psychopathic ambitendency in the strict sense results. Again there are no boundaries to be delimited, but transitional stages both from the side of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation.

The types of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation are "unipolar" and their conflicts are generally to be deduced and understood from this unipolarity; in the ambitendency it is different. These types oscillate between the ego and the environment, between overvaluation and undervaluation of the ego, between undervaluation and overvaluation of the non-ego. The oscil-

lating attitude is of the greatest possible significance for the setting of goals and conflicts of the personality in the ambitendent type. Here are *two* poles between which such persons may be constantly torn. Through the ambitendent attraction in extreme cases, even moderately definite goal-direction is made impossible, so that every attempt to hold any goal in view must lead to conflict, because on the basis of ego-overvaluation the goal is affirmed, and at the same time on the basis of ego-undervaluation it is denied or *vice versa.* In such personalities the setting of a goal may occasionally be identical with the setting of a conflict. Every decision, every attitude, every act, in a way every experience, is reflected in the opposed concave mirrors of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation and bandied back and forth between them. The oscillation leads inevitably to long-enduring inner tension, to persistent conflicts, or to *persistent readiness to conflicts,* and it takes effect in the daily bearing of the personality, and particularly in significant experiences. It is easy to understand that in this way the fate of the personality occasionally may take a turn which was entirely undesired by it. It appears however that in many cases there results even so a "satisfaction" to the personality in that it has succeeded in avoiding a decision of its own or in postponing a decision until its behavior is compelled by the total situation or by some definite event. In this way it has been possible to avoid personal responsibility.

This dichrotic attitude may be called *ambitendency,* if one has in mind the set-goals, *ambivalency*[15] referring to the value system. From the angle of rationality it is

[15] Valor = value! The meanings given here to the terms ambitendency and ambivalency no longer correspond entirely with the significations in which Bleuler first used them.

at this point that *doubt* becomes effective—the doubt from which not only hesitation and blocking arise but from which also advance through newly acquired knowledge is initiated.

We are not oblivious of the fact that ambitendent single attitudes are not foreign to the normal and, as has been noted, to the types of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation, but in such types they are of subordinate or relatively subordinate significance. In the true ambitendent types, the ambitendency is the essential peculiarity of the character. H. Hoffmann has explained through the use of his genetic-analytical method that in the construction of psychopathic personalities ambitendency is of great significance. He speaks in this connection of antinomical characters and brings in the processes of compensation and overcompensation. Hoffmann is to be supported in his conception that the opposing strivings of a personality which attains expression in the antinomy or the ambitendency may be explained very largely on the basis of *Anlagen* deriving from two sides. This however is frequently not to be demonstrated exactly or with any high degree of probability.

The set-purposes and set-goals of a unipolar or essentially unipolar type are readily evident being concerned with the enhancement or degradation of the ego-value, that is with self-overvaluation or self-undervaluation. It is determined from the outset by the unipolarity of these types in what general direction their conflicts will be solved. In the ambitendent types the attitude may change in the course of one and the same conflict. This change, this dual attitude, that is, the ambitendency, becomes evident in many connections and many manifestations. Fundamentally it is to be related to the fact that the ambitendent personality

is marked by neither unequivocal ego-strength nor unequivocal ego-weakness, but has instead a certain degree of ego-strength and a certain degree of ego-weakness. From the former spring the active sthenic attitudes and actions, from the latter the passive asthenic behavior of the personality. Through his ego-strength the ambitendent arrives at ego-overvaluation and through his ego-weakness he arrives at ego-undervaluation. In this way the demands for power and prestige come into competition with the tendencies toward ego-protection and ego-searching; the longings for life and experience are paired with anxiety toward life and experience, the longing toward the Thou and toward the environment in general with anxiety toward the Thou and the environment, etc.

Theoretically in the presence of equal ego-strength and ego-weakness there is conceivable an eternal parallelism and conflict of antithetical attitudes and strivings of equal intensity such that a solution would be impossible. Practically the situation in the majority of cases is not nearly so bad because many conflicts are resolved, sometimes more quickly, sometimes more slowly, and many tensions are thus relieved. Nevertheless the tension and conflict burden in many ambitendents is frequently tremendous—so tremendous that it threatens in the long run to become insupportable for the personality, and thus to lead to complete split and exhaustion. In order to escape the tension where it is impossible to resolve conflict, compromise is attempted and carried through, and in this process the ambitendent personality makes use of *repression* on the one hand, and on the other hand makes use of the construction of *partial teleological systems,* or *"pseudotelies."* Such connections Alfred Adler has discussed correctly within the frame of his individual psychological theo-

ries. Specifically he has mentioned the "fictions" which *may* play a rôle here.

The mechanism of repression is of course not peculiar to the ambitendent type. Everybody represses, one might say, according to necessity. However, the ambitendent has the greatest necessity for repression,[16] he is compelled to repress opposing strivings which otherwise would divert him from any possible goal whatever. He represses often without real success for although an opposing striving may apparently be excluded through the repression, the ambitendent is so constituted that peace does not necessarily follow. Instead the repressed striving bores in and burrows deeper even though by a side way. Thus it happens occasionally that an entirely separate field of action is placed at the disposal of the opposing strivings, or of a whole bundle of such strivings: a peculiar apparently fast-closed system of purposes—a pseudotely within which there is attempted a sort of confinement of those strivings in opposition toward the total system of purposes of the personality. *All so-called neuroses* may be regarded as *pseudotelies* of this kind: causally they spring from the unorganized personality structure, and finally they signify the attempt to divert, to isolate, to make ineffective everything in which the ego sees a danger for its (psychopathic) total system of purposes. In many a single case the outcome may be relatively good if the personality is sufficiently sthenic to deal with the resulting "nervousness" or "neurosis." Not infrequently the pseudotely gains the upper hand for a longer or a shorter time and scraps the total system of purposes being after all not completely closed

[16] From the angle of attitude it might be said that the ambitendent attitude involves the greatest necessity for repression, indeed often compels repression.

in the psychopathic personality. It is in nowise maintained that these phenomena are unique in ambitendent psychopaths, but we are of the opinion that it belongs to their especial sphere and that neurotic or pseudotelic manifestations cannot be formed without a certain inclination to ambitendency which, as already noted, is not entirely lacking in case of ego-overvaluation or ego-undervaluation or even in the normal. *Neurosis or pseudotely means an evasion from the demands of the system of purposes of the community, means nothing else than a psychopathic mechanism.* A dispute concerning the distinction between neurosis and psychopathy would seem to involve a false putting of the question. In this point we share the attitude of Bumke; for many such cases Alfred Adler's remarks concerning "neurotic arrangement" are correct or at least of heuristic usefulness.

The psychopathic manifestations of ambitendency are manifold. Regarding them as combinations of our types of ego-overvaluation and ego-undervaluation it is possible and useful to distinguish two fundamental ambitendent types: namely, the sthenic and the asthenic, depending on whether the ego-strength predominates over the ego-weakness or *vice versa.* Within the fundamental types of sthenia and asthenia it is possible to distinguish some essential distinctions depending on whether active autistic or active egocentric, passive autistic or ego-searching attitudes and behavior come to the fore.

E. STHENIC-AMBITENDENT TYPES

Here belong predominantly active autists whose autistic will to power is combined with a certain egocentric need for prestige behind which, in contradistinction to the ego-strength of the pure active autist, there

is concealed an intimation of ego-weakness. There are added also ambitendent types which in spite of an unmistakably active autistic attitude try to get along in the sense of passive autistic ego-protection because of a certain lack of ego-strength. Not infrequently active autistic and ego-searching behavior is to be observed in the same individual, to be sure not simultaneously but nevertheless in varying succession.

Certain egocentrics herein described, in that their active sthenic behavior contains passive sthenic elements, might be accounted among the sthenic-ambitendent types, or at least among the stages of transition toward them. This becomes even more evident in the case of egocentrics whose ambition for prestige goes hand in hand with passive autistic tendencies toward ego-protection. In such cases the egocentric demands on the environment are usually associated with a certain degree of anxiety toward ego and environment. These egocentrics frequently show resentment.

F. ASTHENIC-AMBITENDENT TYPES

Attention has been called to the fact that the passive asthenic bearing of the passive autist can be interspersed with active sthenic elements, and hence ambitendency becomes evident. So at least some of the passive autists may be regarded as stages of transition in the direction of asthenic ambitendency. The more the actively sthenic elements come into evidence the clearer becomes the ambitendency. In these types there may be associated with the passive autistic ego-protection a considerable egocentric desire for prestige. In some passive autists there are to be observed hints of active autism in the form of violent attacks upon the environment with a marked, occasionally episodic will to power. Transition or combination forms of passive

autistic and ego-searching types also reach over into the sphere of ambitendency; in one and the same person there may be recognized opposing tendencies toward ego-isolation and ego-diversion, ego-protection and ego-searching, ego-anxiety and pseudo-devotion, resentment and will to impotence.

Mention has been made already of the tinge of egocentric desire for prestige which is often present in the ego-searching as well as in the will to impotence of the types characterized by ego-undervaluation; completely active tendencies may be occasionally concealed behind their desire for submission. Such is the case in passive autists, for example, whose much-stressed ego-undervaluation is only a cloak, an "attitude" (Adler), behind which are concealed tendencies of ego-overvaluation which, it is true, are produced by the feeling of insecurity.

In the description of the four unipolar types the procedure has been intentionally somewhat schematic; the will to power has been brought into special relationship with the active autists and the desire for prestige with the egocentric; on the other hand there has been indicated resentment as primary in the passive autists, and the will to impotence in the ego-searchers. Forgetting the types and considering any random psychopathic personalities from the point of view of will to power and desire for prestige, of resentment and will to impotence, one finds frequently in the same personality will to power and to prestige side by side with resentment and will to impotence. In other words, even without the present somewhat schematic types the expansion of that which is understood by ambitendency is easily shown. Conversely it would seem that in this very fact there lies a certain justification for the establishment of the four types not intrinsically ambitendent.

Overcompensation

A special form of repression, which like all repression is a ubiquitous "mechanism," although employed with particular preference by ambitendent psychopaths, is the so-called *overcompensation.* It is well known that the "strong man is played" on the basis of a feeling of inner insecurity, a feeling of being threatened. The anxious go about whistling or speaking loudly, while inwardly or even outwardly trembling in the dark, in order to conceal their anxiety from the dreaded robbers. Overcompensation develops always out of the *attempt to conceal an inner insecurity,* and leads generally to bearing and behavior which are in complete opposition to the bearing and behavior which would result from the direct non-overcompensated effect of insecurity. The person who is weak or feels himself weak poses as the "strong man"; the shy person tries to appear as the carpet-knight; the weak-sighted person finds it important to be a particularly good observer; the person who is nervously insecure plays the rôle of calm superiority; the sensitive assumes the attitude of being cool and unapproachable, etc. However, the relationships are not always so completely direct and uncomplicated; there occur also complex pictures. This happens not infrequently in cases of organ inferiority, with which Adler's individual psychology[17] is particularly concerned. With them processes of overcompensation lead not infrequently to sublimation in which for example a man who is physically small may attempt to become significant in the realm of intellectual life.

The mechanism of overcompensation stands in close

[17] In the first chapter the fact was discussed that Adler's psychology is too one-sided for being able to grasp the multiplicity of the "nervous character."

association with the ambition for prestige. The ambition for prestige makes use of overcompensation for the attainment of pseudo-goals and pseudo-values, it gives to the exterior of the personality and its whole bearing a stamp which corresponds little or not at all with its inner make-up—which is *feigning* and *acting of a part. Ambitendency* is always to be detected in overcompensation: the will to power and to prestige stand opposed to resentment or to the will to impotence[18] and suffering; tendencies of self-overvaluation are in conflict with tendencies of self-undervaluation. The mechanisms of overcompensation cannot be foreign to the person who makes use of them or else he would scarcely be in a position to make use of them. H. Hoffmann has pointed to the fact that frequently enough overcompensation manifestations may be present in *Anlagen.* In spite of the importance which pseudo-goals and pseudo-values have from our point of view it must be absolutely granted that from overcompensation may be attained not only prestige but also effort, not only pseudo-values but also genuine values for the community. Our distinctions in this realm are also abstractions which in purely schematic form cannot do justice to life and its manifold manifestations. Of course we have not the slightest intention of forcing living phenomena into the frame of our presuppositions though we believe them comprehensible, correct, and useful. To give an example: an actor characterized by the highest desire for prestige and ambitendency may be a genial portrayer of men and as such may give values to the community, although to himself it all amounts to no more than applause and the laurel

[18] It is doubtful if there is ever in reality a will to impotence. What may appear to be of this nature is probably a mask of an inhibited will to power.

wreath. We would like only to mention the fact that from such extreme cases to the normal there exists a gradual transition.

Overcompensation is utilized by sthenic as well as asthenic ambitendent types, and according to the particular structure of the ambitendent personality the overcompensatory formations may be of varied form and effect. The sthenic ambitendent type will in general readily veil his asthenic traits in overcompensation, whereas the asthenic ambitendent type must work up a considerable overcompensatory display if he attempts to conceal his ego-weakness from the social environment.

Here there should be mentioned briefly those overcompensatory manifestations that can be regarded as *isolated overcompensation,* that is the construction of overcompensatory attitudes respecting some particular single content. On the basis of an ambitendent attitude, which need not at all comprise the whole personality and hence need not be actually psychopathic, certain common values (religion, culture, etc.) may be outwardly rejected emphatically in an overcompensatory manner, although these values may be inwardly regarded with longing or reverence by the person who rejects them. This manifestation may reach into the sphere of overvalued ideas and of certain paranoiac reactions, with which it has in common the fact that the persons concerned may be completely socially adjusted apart from the isolated overcompensation, overvalued idea, or paranoiac reaction. Many extreme attitudes, especially fanatic behavior, belong here.

We should like to conclude our remarks concerning ambitendent types with a repetition of the reference already made to the fact that being torn between two goals, which commonly marks this type, is not without

exceptions. Ambitendent types may pursue single goals clearly and directly; and furthermore the decision for one or the other side may often take place very quickly. Not infrequently the major question of the ambitendent "shall I—shall I not?" is somewhat playful and the personality may overcome it without great difficulties. This to be sure is not the case in every conflict or in every ambitendent psychopath; specifically it is the anancastic for whom the ambitendency makes life so difficult that it may be almost insupportable.

In this connection particular emphasis should be given to the fact that neither does every act spring from overcompensation in the ambitendent nor from self-insecurity and feeling of inferiority in the remaining types which are likewise insecure—for example, the egocentric, passive autist and ego-searcher. There are numerous personalities in whom feelings of inferiority intervene only occasionally; they overcompensate, if need be, whereas they are feeling and acting with perfect security in situations to which they feel themselves adequate, in which they are actually superior, whether through intelligence or experience and practice, or through particularly favorable circumstances or something else. From this point, that is from the occasional intervention of feelings of inferiority, it is a gradual transition to the psychogenic reactions and to the so-called neurotic behavior in which particular overcompensatory mechanisms are employed with regard to definite events and experiences. Some corresponding explanation of this has been given in the chapter concerning the anxious. Here there remain for special mention the ambitendent types whose behavior varies in different environments; for example, tyrants who overcompensate at home but are entirely peaceful and sociable in other surroundings, or unpleasant su-

periors who outside of duty have no need to bring their pseudo-superiority into evidence.

Respecting insecurity and feeling of inferiority, age and personality developments or fate can bring important changes. It may be observed that personalities which in puberty and the early post-puberal period were markedly insecure may gradually grow into their vocation and life position shaking off their insecurity. Indications of this type of development are rather frequent. On the other hand it occurs that persons who were originally rather sure of themselves may experience inevitable disillusionments by which they are driven either to an increasing egocentric or ambitendent behavior with overcompensation, or into passive autism with resentment. Their striving toward the enrichment of their store of self-values has suffered shipwreck and is replaced by depreciation of others.

Remarks Concerning the Causation of Psychopathic Character Types

Our explanation and exposition concerning psychopathic character types has been concerned essentially with finality. Nevertheless the introduction of the concepts ego-strength and ego-weakness was inevitable. These in themselves have causal significance and from them at least by implication causal deductions (insecurity, anxiety) have been made. Now the causal bases of our psychopathic characters are to be examined. In addition to the causal structural factors within the personality it will be necessary to discuss the causal effect of the environment on the psychopathic personality.

It has been said that the psychopath fundamentally considers himself important and is excessively preoccupied with his own ego.[19] It has been seen that preoccupation with the ego, according to the character pe-

[19] Cf. p. 251.

culiarity of the psychopath, comes ultimately into purposive relation with power, prestige, ego-protection, and ego-searching, respectively; or in the ambitendent type with the conflict between diverse purposes. The general question remains to be asked why the psychopath is so preoccupied with his own personality, and then why the individual psychopathic character types attach so great significance to the ego-purposes above-mentioned.

Starting with a person who is psychically well equipped it is obvious that such a person will be balanced with regard to his self-evaluation, his set-goals, and his relationship to the environment. Without pushing to the fore, without overvaluing himself, but also without neglecting himself, he contributes his effort for the community. He can do so on the basis of the security (self-security) given him by his psychophysical equilibrium. Of course it may be suspected that the basis of the psychopathic lack of balance may be diverse in the various psychopathic personalities; this is not relevant to the present discussion. Presupposing that there exist in psychopathic personalities biological deviations, it is conceivable that these may take effect causally in two ways: immediately and mediately (primarily and secondarily). The immediate effect may be compared to an organic brain change which produces a defect directly; the mediate effect is concerned with the experience of the immediately initiated deviation corresponding to the experience of the defect and the reactions bound up with it. The purposive attitudes and actions of the psychopath represent the attempt to reach beyond the mediate and immediate effect of the psychopathic *Anlagen* to an arrangement which is bearable for the personality and its relationship to the environment. That often this arrangement fails and is

partially or entirely unsuccessful from the point of view of the environment results from basic factors in the psychopathic personality which lead to subjective standards. The failure of the arrangement consists always in "a too much or a too little"; since the psychopath has not an accurate eye he shoots either above the mark (self-overvaluation) or below the mark (self-undervaluation), that is, he rarely becomes adjusted without friction to the heterotely and the hypertely.

It has been explained with regard to the types of ego-overvaluation, the egocentric and the ambitendent, that they are noticeable for their insecurity. This insecurity is finally worked out in various ways: in the sense of ambition for prestige, of ego-security, of ego-seeking, and of resentment. The insecurity is the experiential (mediate, secondary) effect of a lack of balance. The personality experiences its insufficiency on the one hand in that it is unable to satisfy its demands in the degree and tempo which it desires; on the other hand it observes that its fellow men are actually or apparently better off in this respect. Hence the personality becomes insecure in behavior and attitude and feels inferior in comparison to others. Behind the insecurity there frequently exists a primary anxiety; for this point, reference may be made to the discussion in the chapter concerning the anxious.[20] The insecurity and the feeling of inferiority are more readily understood if it be remembered that they occur in the development of practically every human individual: the most balanced child becomes insecure when the onset of puberty brings changes into his personal situation and into the total picture of the environment. Of analogous processes at the climacteric and during the senile pe-

[20] See p. 200.

riod a mere reminder is sufficient. Insecurity and feeling of inferiority are secondary formations which go back to the experience of characteristics given in *Anlagen;* these formations may be strengthened and occasionally even called forth from outside (although scarcely without some coöperation of *Anlagen*) by unfavorable effects first of education and less often of the experiences of later life. Primary anxiety very often leads to these secondary formations, but the substructure for insecurity and feeling of inferiority may be given also by the experience of impulsive weakness or peculiarity, or of temperamental deviation, such as, for example, persisting gloomy or irritable moods, excitability, affective lability, deficient capacity for meeting people on the temperamental basis of phlegm or affective poverty, etc.

If impulsive and temperamental bases are rooted in the physique, that is especially the case with organ inferiority[21] which is significant in this connection. It is not always feasible but it is theoretically fruitful to distinguish between primary and secondary manifestations and formations in the manner which has been attempted. All the intact and deviating manifestations of the corporeal, of the impulse-life, and of the temperament express themselves directly in physical and psychic manifestations but they are also experienced by the personality, and from this experience the personality constructs secondary formations. Primary anxiety, for example, does not remain in isolation but instead is transformed, at least in part, into insecurity and feeling of inferiority. On the other hand from insecurity and feeling of inferiority otherwise conditioned,

[21] Such situations have been particularly well thought out and described by Wexberg whom we are, nevertheless, not entirely able to follow in his position on individual psychology.

secondary anxiety may be developed ("anxiety neurosis"), for example, through impulse weakness or organ inferiority. These secondary formations are without doubt frequently from the start at the service of finality (pseudotelies).

It is not convenience of thought but rather an unavoidable conclusion when we state that not only the physical bases with their primary effect but also the secondary formations must be in some way potentially present in *Anlagen* from the start. This is of great importance for the understanding of the diversity of secondary formations and for the diversity of experiential elaboration and of experience itself. Hoffmann's reference, already mentioned, that overcompensatory manifestations may be derived from *Anlagen* seems of particular significance in this connection. It must be admitted that character qualities also may be inherited, although a clear conception of how they are inherited and what is inherited is impossible at the present.[22]

With this remark and with the bringing in of the physical, we move over into the biological category. Consideration of causality here must by necessity go downward into the physical, although it is not possible and also not to be expected at the outset that immediate psychophysical connections or "correspondences" (*Entsprechungen*) are to be discovered. Closely analogous psychopathic manifestations of character are present in personalities of diverse body and the environment is never to be forgotten in the consideration of a person with his psychophysical *Anlagen*. The environment has its effect on the person even if he has

[22] I do not consider it correct to speak of "psychic inheritance" because ultimately and certainly all processes of inheritance take their course in the physical.

largely limited or even rejected his relationships to it. Nevertheless in single types psychophysical relationships are to some extent clearly manifest.

If we are to understand the practical application of the foregoing to the foundations of the various forms of final behavior in the insecure personality, we must assume that this behavior exists potentially in the primordial[23] differences of ego-structure and its particular mode of reaction to the environment. Beneath the insecurity and the feeling of inferiority there is to be sought an imperfect development of the consciousness of personality, of the ego-consciousness (ego-weakness). We have in mind the fact that in some animals and children there occurs a marked inclination toward the environment on the basis of an undeveloped or incompletely developed consciousness of the own ego. It is significant that this inclination toward the environment may become transformed very early in the psychopathic child, into diversion from the environment and into overemphasis of the ego, when the development of its own personality becomes directed toward insecurity with feeling of inferiority. The psychopathic ego-weakness effects on the one hand ego-inclination, on the other the peculiar environmental concern, namely the diversion[24] from the environment. The differences in the case of psychopathic types characterized by ego-weakness and relative ego-weakness must be explained somewhat as follows. The more active and sthenic the personality the more stubbornly, if it feels insecure, will it stand its ground toward its environment, defy it, and attempt to assert its own ego (egocentric). The more passive and asthenic the per-

[23] That means, conditioned by *Anlagen.*

[24] Perhaps it would be clearer to say divergence instead of diversion.

sonality, the more will it be inclined to place itself in passive resistance to the environment (passive autist), or, if it has no active sthenic element, to subject itself defenseless and in pseudo-submission to the environment (ego-searching). The roots of the active sthenic and the passive asthenic behavior are to be sought in the physique and in impulsive and temperamental characteristics, and furthermore in slight intellectual lacks, that is, throughout in primordial facts. The oscillation between aggression and defense in the ambitendent types may be related causally to the same factors—the simultaneous presence of antinomical *Anlagen* (H. Hoffmann).

It is not to be forgotten that in the behavior discussed the environment and also the "discouragement" often accruing from it may be frequently of far-reaching effect. The fact should not be mistaken that it is usually, if not exclusively, those personalities weak *ab ovo* who are discouraged by the environment. The world belongs to the courageous, it denies itself to the timid.

In this somewhat cursory discussion of causality the peculiar position of the active autist should be mentioned. His aggressive attitude rests, as we assume, on a strength of ego-consciousness, certainly based in *Anlagen.* His bellicose attitude toward the environment we believe to be related to peculiar temperamental *Anlagen* in so far as he is evidently either effectively poor or affectless. That personalities of marked activity and with poverty of affect, or lack of affect, do not incline to insecurity is obvious in itself.

There remains this to be said with regard to the causality of autism. The passive and active autists develop their autistic behavior from a basis in *Anlagen* (genuinely). However, not every personality which fails to be-

come adjusted to the environment, or withdraws itself to a greater or less degree, is not in the true sense of the word autistic (genuinely autistic). Some persons become autistic through their destinies (secondary autism) and in such cases, in addition to peculiar individual *Anlagen* and susceptibilities, there are ubiquitous human *Anlagen* at work. The autistic attitude, like the egocentric, is not in the true sense of the word psychopathic *per se* but becomes so rather in its particular development and effect. Not infrequently an egocentric and even an autistic make-up is a biological necessity for the existence of the personality. We may recall observations of this sort which are made in the period of puberty and particularly during the climacteric and the senile period. The increasing egocentricity and the not infrequent autism of senile personalities, and also the corresponding manifestations accompanying physical diseases and psychic disturbances, are certainly not to be ranked forthwith within the range of the psychopathic, although even here there occur transitional forms tending toward the psychopathic. When the total psychophysical organism in growth or decay, or in conditions of disease, is strained up to or beyond its limits, the attention is inevitably distracted from the environment and directed toward the ego. But in such cases the total situation is different from the case of the genuine egocentric and autist, whose total structure is peculiar and persists throughout life, or the major portion of life in just this peculiarity and in the attitudes toward the environment already discussed.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCERNING THE CAUSAL AND FINAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PSYCHOPHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES

WE started from the point of view that character, in which we see the epitome of the steering of the personality, rests causally on the basis of impulses and temperament. A few references to this fact were made in the course of our remarks concerning dystonic psychopathic types, and it remains now to make more explicit the causal connection between character and its foundation in impulse and temperament. Since, as we have reiterated frequently, impulses and temperament are rooted in the corporeal, it will be necessary to consider the question of the physical basis of character.

The manifestations of human personality offer such variety that one may be driven almost to the conclusion that each individual is the product of an aimless, random game of chance in which various bits of mosaic are composed of physical, impulsive, and temperamental *Anlagen* to which the character *Anlagen* are then added. In all this the intellectual and other gifts have received no mention. Should one desire to carry this train of thought to its conclusion each personality would represent a chaos of *Anlagen* and qualities. However this apparent chaos is ordered in two ways: first by the biologically rooted comprehension of the personality in a totality, that is, in an individual, and then by the final character direction. So there is given to the person his individual significance which is what we are attempting to grasp. From this fact—we are concerned

here with a fact and not with an artifact—the conclusion may be drawn that there may exist in the person certain regular relationships, certain coördinations between physique, impulse-life, temperament, and character; in other words: certain *Anlagen* resting in the various strata of the personality will stand in correlative relationships to each other, on the basis of which the representation of a number of personality types may be possible. The more onesidedly one considers personalities the less difficult becomes the construction of types. It is possible to manage with relatively few types if one restricts attention to the physical or to the impulsive aspect. From the standpoint of temperament also, it is possible to isolate a limited series of types; nevertheless in view of the complexity of temperament considerable difficulties are already at hand. These increase tremendously if one attempts on top of all this to develop types combining physique, impulse, and temperament, and even more if one then attempts to introduce character into the attempt to establish types.

The question arises as to whether it is actually worth while to attempt such complex constructions, whether it would not be more expedient to consider each single personality simply from the point of view of structural analysis, the essential parts of which we have endeavored to give in the three preceding chapters. In the sense of an impartial consideration of personalities certain advantages must be granted at once to this approach. Nevertheless it seems desirable to develop as fixed points in the flux of manifestations, a few complex types, or at least to attempt to work out certain general relationships among the elements from the diverse layers in the person. It may be expected that in so doing personality types will be encountered which are already well known from earlier clinical ex-

perience, or, as a result of the work of individual observers. To be sure our point of view of structural analysis is qualified to meet many prejudices which in part have arisen as the result of the influence through suggestion of outstanding authors and their teachings, and which in part have survived through prestige and tradition.

It goes without saying that no consideration of personality based only upon an attempt to grasp all the single factors can do complete justice to individual human beings. The particular form of intuition which is called "knowledge of men" is not learnable even with the most complete schema. Occasionally a single utterance, a slip of the tongue, an involuntary motion, an unexpected reaction apropos of an experience give a deeper insight into a person than is attainable with any refinement of the method of structural analysis. Often there are "imponderables" which guide from the outset in the judgment of a personality, and through which often we may be guided confidently.[1] We apprehend a personality as a whole; nevertheless

[1] Here brief mention should be made of a fact which perhaps does not always receive sufficient attention. Not infrequently personalities in their totality but especially with regard to their temperament and character are variously judged by different observers. This is the result less frequently of the fact that the observers have considered the subject from various psychic approaches than of the subjectivity of every judgment from which the best knowledge of men and the best personality schema can never escape. This subjectivity of judgment may be very complicated: rooted in *Anlagen* of the personality of the observer, or in particular differences between observer and subject from the point of view of temperament and character, personal rank and destiny, of social rank and *Weltanschauung,* of nationality and race, of age and sex. The judgment suffers occasionally from the prejudices of the observer which become apparent both on the basis of the factors just enumerated and also not infrequently in a strict adherence to a certain definite classification.

this apprehension of the whole personality may be easily combined with the control through structural analysis. This control may correct many details which had been grasped too "intuitively" in the original apprehension, and which might well sidetrack or falsify the judgment. But first of all the conception of the psychopathic personality from the point of view of structural analysis is called upon to clear up gradually the diagnoses of convenience (such as unstable or excitable psychopath, etc.) which are too superficial, and behind which the peculiar property of the person is concealed.

Balance and harmony pass rightly as criteria of the healthy personality, well balanced in its physical and psychic development—according to the old phrase: *mens sana in corpore sano.* It is clear that a healthy impulse-life and a well-balanced temperament are suited to a perfect body and that on this basis the character is easily able to steer a clear course between ego and environment. Very slight physical deviations of various kinds express themselves in so far as they are directly related to the basis of the impulse-life and of the temperament in impulsive and temperamental deviations; and they are also experienced by the personality and so play a part in the total configuration of its experience. The more considerable such deviations are, the more difficult it will be for the personality to get on with itself and with the environment, the more trouble it will have with itself, being hindered in its activity with reference to the community and lapsing into faulty character directing. Furthermore physical deviations which themselves have nothing to do with the impulse-life and the temperament express themselves directly and participate indirectly in the configuration of the experience of the personality (organ inferiority in the stricter sense). Ultimately, into every experi-

ence the environment penetrates in extraordinary variety, participating in the formation and development of character, which for its part is of course unable to alter the impulsive and temperamental bases, but may well influence their expressions, inhibiting as well as releasing them.

In consideration of dystonic psychopaths, activity and passivity, sthenia and asthenia, have been already discussed. It remains to seek their causal bases in impulse-life and in temperament. Difficulties result from the fact that here we are never dealing with absolute but always only with relative quantities, and, as has been mentioned, activity together with passivity, sthenia together with asthenia, may occur in the most varied mixtures. In the course of the foregoing remarks concerning the relationship between impulse and temperament it was necessary to formulate carefully the fact "that in general, hyperthymic as opposed to hypothymic temperamental characteristics rest on a positive as opposed to a negative impulsive basis." This causal relationship finds its expression on the character level. Active sthenic character attitude must be related to impulsively positive and hyperthymic bases in the impulse and temperament strata; similarly passive asthenic character attitudes must be related to impulsively negative and hypothymic bases in the strata of impulse and temperament. In all this the relativity of the impulsive strength or weakness and the varied prominence and mixture of hyper- and hypothymic factors are to be taken into consideration. What we designate as ego-strength and as ego-weakness has its source in the lowest stratum, in an impulse-life which may be relatively weak or strong in the perspective of the total personality. Thus there may be deduced on the basis of ambitendent dystonic, or ambitendent be-

havior in general, an uncertainty springing from the impulse stratum that means a certain changeability in the relative strength of impulses which, at one time controlled with relative facility, may at another time break forth in outbursts which are stopped only with extreme difficulty. As a result of this oscillation there may occur a mechanism in the impulse stratum which is very characteristic and significant for the ambitendency and its effect (repression, overcompensation), that is, *impulse cramp.*[2] There may be derived from this consideration an added understanding of the character attitudes of the poikilothymic types. In some of these types the hyperthymic (cheerful or irritable) or the hypothymic (gloomy) side predominates; the character direction thus receives from the basic impulse strength or weakness either a more active or a more passive stamp. However there are also poikilothymic personalities in which an evident reversal in the character direction is consequent upon a change of temperamental condition.

In this connection it should be remembered that *impulsive psychopaths occasionally, and dysthymic psychopaths frequently, are not dystonic;* instead the dystonic character attitudes are to be recognized in them only by such indications as belong still within the range of the normal (particularly certain tachythymics and euphorics but also gloomy personalities, for example). Conversely, the *impulsive and temperamental basis is only slightly or not at all psychopathic in not a few dystonic psychopaths;* the dystony is *not necessarily* the product of the degree or the strength of the two lower strata but may very well result from slight relative differences between the two. Thus personalities

[2] *Triebverkrampfung.*

are frequently encountered that display a particularly intense capacity for reaction to environmental influence, and some of which are nervous, that is, peculiarly sensitive with respect to their vegetative-nervous and their endocrinological systems. Among these are to be included many cases of organ inferiority of whom a good understanding is to be gained from the approach of individual psychology.

Certain possibilities of clarification in this intricate matter may be derived from the physical bases. That these with reference to impulse and temperament may be essentially embraced in the endocrinological system and in the vegetative apparatus of the central nervous system remains scarcely open to doubt. The relationships of impulse[3] and temperament to their physical bases is very close. We do not believe that the same is the case with character, but that it rests causally on the strata of impulse and temperament. We are of the opinion furthermore that through intelligence and the motor—which latter is closely bound up with the bases of impulses and temperament—there exist relationships to the cortex and to the extrapyramidal system. However, we consider infelicitous the assumption that the somatic bases of character are to be seen somewhere in the brain. *Character is not somatic but completely psychic.* To the extent to which, like everything psychic, character has a somatic basis, this basis is far in the background and its connection with character runs through different strata. Character in itself is not to be grasped through an understanding of anatomical or physiological apparatus but only psychologically, that is in experience. This conception is not contradicted by the observations which have been made with reference

[3] Bürger significantly terms the impulse stratum "the dynamic stratum near to the body" (*leibnahe dynamische Schicht*).

to alterations in character—more correctly, in the total personality—accompanying processive disease and destruction of the cortex (general paresis), and of the extrapyramidal system (encephalitis). That alterations in apparatus of the highest significance for the psychic personality, which even if indirectly are related also to the character direction, must have their effect in character is readily comprehensible but does not permit the localization of character or of its somatic foundation. It should be remembered that according to the modern point of view even aphasia, which is essentially founded in local brain alterations, is not to be satisfactorily approached without a psychological explanation. Interestingly enough some authorities on the subject of metencephalitic residues in children and adolescents (Thiele, Robin[4]) are of the opinion that the characterological manifestations of these patients are essentially secondary and reactive.[5]

A few remarks concerning physique are now in order. Repeated reference was made to this matter in the discussion of the dysthymic psychopathic types, whereas the matter was not mentioned in the chapter concerning dystonic psychopaths. Kretschmer's complex psychophysical types will not be taken as a starting point but instead his physical types will be used. We consider the extreme pyknic and leptosomic physiques[6] to represent relatively pure types, while we see

[4] Quoted from Thiele.

[5] Thiele says: "We are permitted to consider a mode of behavior as founded in character only to the extent that the subject concerned identifies himself inwardly with it." This corresponds closely to our conception.

[6] In contraversion of Kretschmer's opinion Stern-Piper maintains that Kretschmer's body types are racially conditioned. This dispute has been decided by the researches of Weidenreich who was able to show that leptosomaticism and eurysomaticism (pyknic physique),

in the athletic physique a mixed type (Weidenreich) and in the dysplastic types, anomalies.[7]

Concerning the "pure" pyknic and leptosomic forms the following may be said: the former is in general better suited to the environment and in consequence adjusts better to the environment;[8] the latter—and we are thinking only of completely healthy and in no sense pathological asthenic types—stands in a fundamental opposition to the environment. This opposition occurs both in the sense that a certain aggression is directed by them against the environment, and as a result of their lesser adjustment (considered in comparison with that of the pyknic), they are more exposed to the aggression of the environment and thus compelled to defend themselves against it through an increased effort (we are thinking here only of the physical). Obviously the pyknic physique stands in a marked positive relationship to the typical feminine physique,[9] to the

are constitutional rather than racial qualities, although there are races which incline to one or the other of the two types.

[7] Galant, on the basis of some observations, set up a seven-ranked type system in which the asthenic and pyknic types occur side by side with five equally well-justified types: the sthenoplastic, the mesoplastic, the athletic, the subathletic, and the euryplastic. Galant denies the mixed forms. I can see no reason for seeing in these five types anything but mixed forms of Kretschmer's true fundamental types. On the other hand, I share Galant's opinion that the dysplastic body forms are to be considered constitutional anomalies.

[8] In this practically nothing is said from the point of view of value. If one wishes to assume that the value of the pyknic consists in the completeness of his adjustment to the environment then one must say also that the corresponding lack in the leptosome is counterbalanced by his capacity to fight with the environment. From the point of view of value there would thus exist no difference between them.

[9] Weidenreich assumes in the woman a greater tendency to "eurysomaticism" (pyknic physique) than in the man, corresponding to

physique of the motherly woman; whereas the leptosomic physique stands in an analogous relationship to the typical masculine physique of the man who is active and effective in the world. This not to say that generally the woman is pyknic[10] and the man leptosomic. We find however in our second assumption, which is certainly not unfounded, a support for the first: the pyknic physique supplies the better capacity for adjustment to the environment. It embodies a conservative principle in that it enters without friction into the environment and into the tasks set by the environment. The pyknic physique may be particularly connected in some basic way with the preservation of the species. The leptosomic physique is less well suited to the environment; it embodies an evolutionary or even revolutionary principle. It is characterized by an attitude of fighting in attack as well as in the defense; in it self-preservation, the maintenance of the self against the environment, receives particular expression from the final angle. The pyknic as well as the feminine principle signify in the sense of our so-called environmental type, submission, adjustment to the environment even to the point of self-surrender. The leptosomic as well as the masculine principle signify in the sense of our ego-type self-assertion in the struggle with the environment;[11] or expressed with some exaggeration: the pyknic type is social, the leptosomic type is asocial.

If there is some truth in this conception it is not sur-

her shorter and broader stature and to the infantile character of her physique. Galant terms the pyknic the "ideal of femininity," "the most genuine of all genuine women."

[10] It is certainly not to be doubted that the pyknic woman is best fitted physically and psychically for motherhood. Cf. Mathes.

[11] We must avoid here further elaboration of the teleological train of thought.

prising that perfectly pure pyknic and leptosomic types are not observed. It is much more surprising that in spite of the crossing of innumerable generations there remain still so many relatively pure pyknic and leptosomic. In this we cannot but recognize an indication of the fixity of the genotypical bases of these two physiques.

The development of physique and thus the physique itself is in a high degree dependent on the organs of internal secretion. This is demonstrated by an abundance of observations with regard to the normal development of the physique (maturing, climacteric, senility), and with regard to deviations in the physique (disturbances of function of the thyroid, thymus, hypophysis, etc.). The endocrine glands, which are determinative for the development of the physique, supply also, as has been already explained, the bases for the impulse-life and for the temperament. Generally speaking it is possible to say without disregarding the complexity of the matter that relationships exist between physique on the one hand and impulse life and temperament on the other, in accord with their mutual dependence on the endocrinological system.[12] We cannot assent to

[12] As an extension of the work done by E. R. Jaensch concerning eidetic *Anlage* W. Jaensch has attempted to develop the B and T types as a pair of biotypes and on this basis to erect a psychophysical personality system. S. Fischer has shown that the younger Jaensch has not succeeded in demonstrating the association of certain forms of eidetic *Anlage* with certain definite physical types. The foundation on which the younger Jaensch erected his system was not adequate to such a demonstration. It is not to be disputed however that certain details have been rightly seen and especially certain antitheses followed which suggest that personality types which correspond to the B or T types may be brought into relationship with cycloid or non-cycloid temperamental types.

Krisch's opinion that a relation between the somatic and psychic habitus is merely a human postulate. Relationships undoubtedly exist between physique and psychic make-up which are founded on anything but emotional judgments. Nevertheless it is of course impossible to demonstrate fixed correlations between physical and psychic characteristics in all details. In favor of the existence of correlations, there are in addition to the postulate just mentioned, which perhaps is not entirely to be neglected, and in addition to the fruitful intuition of Kretschmer and other investigators, the results of endocrinological research.[13]

The psychophysical peculiarity of cretins and eunuchoids (Scherk) should be recalled, especially also the far-reaching similarity of Mongolian idiots in the physical as well as in the psychic realm, back of which one is generally inclined to assume an endocrinological disturbance. In such striking psychophysical types, however, as the three just mentioned, relationships are very complicated; in less definite and particularly in the entirely "average" personalities it is necessary to deal with an indefinite multiplication of complications. This would in no sense justify the rejection of psychophysical relationships or our ignoring this field.

The question should be asked whether one can determine anything with regard to the physique in the psychopathic type. The answer to this question is anticipated by the general statement that penetrating and exclusive correspondences between definite psychopathic types and definite physiques do not exist. Many psychopaths have been observed whose physique shows no deviations or peculiarities which we are able to recognize. Whether further investigation can accomplish

[13] Klieneberger (1927) has given a survey.

any considerable change in this respect remains for the future to determine. Nevertheless several positive features are already clear.

From the point of view of the impulse life:

1. Accompanying impulsive psychopathic deviations, dysplastic physiques occur not infrequently (for example, eunuchoids).

From the point of view of temperament:

2. Several dysthymic psychopathic types, especially Kretschmer's cycloids (our euphoric, perhaps also the tachythymic, the gloomy, and the autochthonous poikilothymic), show a certain tendency in the direction of the pyknic; more exactly stated: their physique shows a certain predominance of pyknic features.

3. Athymic psychopathic types are rarely pyknic. Among the affectively poor and affectless there exists a very marked tendency toward the leptosomic type or toward leptosomic features. Attention has been called by many authors to the fact that hysteric and anancastic psychopaths, which are to be discussed later, favor the leptosomic type.

From the point of view of physique:

4. Serious impulsive and temperamental psychopathic deviations exist rather frequently in the intersexuals, especially in the feminine intersexuals described by Mathes, but also in the masculine intersexuals with evident elements of feminine physique (some homosexuals, Weil).

5. Various, but in themselves typical, psychopathic phenomena of the impulse-life and the temperament occur in a number of dysplastic types of physique (Hanhart's dwarfs, Riese's hypophysial obese, eunuchoid [Scherk], cretinoid).

6. In combination with asthenic, that is in a broader sense pathologically leptosomic physique there occurs very frequently a personality make-up which is impulsively and temperamentally psychopathic. The same is true of the infantile habitus in which, according to Julius Bauer, asthenia is generally an essential attendant phenomenon (asthenic infantilism of Mathes).

Psychophysical transpositions:

7. Finer endocrinological disturbances which are responsible for more or less marked alterations in physique are combined with psychopathic manifestations (myxedema, Graves' disease, thyreotoxicosis, etc.).[14]

8. Diseases (tuberculosis, etc.) and the effect of poison (morphine, alcohol, etc.) may exert an important influence on the physique directly and through the endocrinological system, and provoke or intensify psychopathic manifestations ("schizoidization" in narcomaniacs, Serejski).

9. The total physical changes of puberty which alter the physique also bring about manifestations which frequently flow over into the psychopathic. The same is to be said of the climacterium of the woman and of the senile processes in both sexes. In all this the endocrine apparatus plays a prominent part.

[14] French observers (quoted from Julius Bauer) have attempted to determine definite temperaments on the basis of endocrinological deviation: the hypothyroid temperament (Lévi-Rothschild, de Saravel) and the thyroid temperament (de Saravel). Although certain single psychic characteristics may stand in close correlation with deviations in the function of the thyroid, the temperament of this type is not yet comprehensible from the point of view of the thyroid alone. On this account such a conception for the present might create a false or exaggerated impression concerning correlation, rather than to serve as a starting point for the establishment of temperamental types on the basis of the endocrinological system.

We will include mention of the necessary limitations pertaining to these general aspects.

To 1. Impulsive deviations are not limited to dysplastic types; particularly in the eunuchoid the symptomatology derived from impulse-life shows a considerable range.

To 2. Not all dysthymic but only certain types ("cycloid") show a definite preference for the pyknic type; there exists however no complete agreement even among the cycloid.

To 3. The relationship of the remaining dysthymic to the pyknic is the reciprocal of that of the "cycloid"; here also there is no question of complete agreement.

To 4. Psychopathic manifestations are to be found also in pyknic women, it is true particularly of the "cycloid" variety. The physical stigmatization is far from including all psychic intersexuals—at least in the present status of our ability to differentiate.

To 5. There are considerable differences also among the dysplastic forms enumerated here.

To 6. The asthenic physique actually shows a particularly close relation to psychopathic make-up of varying stamp. There exists not *one* physically asthenic psychopathic type but instead many such types.

To 7. The fact is not to be overlooked that in the finer endocrinological disturbances the premorbid personality and its *Anlagen* are pathoplastically significant.

To 8. The same is true of the cruder physical diseases and of chronic poisonings; especially in the latter, the personality, from the point of view of *Anlage,* plays an important part.

To 9. Developmental alterations in physique and in psychic structure show great individual differences; their correspondence is frequently missed.

To 7–9. In all these cases certainly ubiquitous *Anlagen* participate—they are of course of varying degrees of intensity, condensation, and readiness, and are mobilized by adequate stimuli.

Turning back once more to the ideal types of the pyknic environmental type and the leptosomic ego-type, it is necessary to say that both are to be realized as normal and concordant, that is, as balanced according to their physical and impulse-temperament structure, and correspondingly adjusted to their particular task for the community. It is obviously not permissible to deduce that all impure pyknic and leptosomic, that is, all mixed types, including the athletic, are discordant: on the contrary it is to be assumed that concordance may also occur in these types. Furthermore a considerable number of them, discordant from the start, may attain a balance in their psychophysical discord (secondary balancing) and with it fulfilment of their tasks for the community. In all personalities or types in which this is not the case psychopathic disharmony is to be sought and will be found. The question must remain open as to how intense the disharmony can be before psychopathy in the strict sense is brought about. However, as the psychopathic becomes manifest, it is justifiable to subsume particular deviations in physique and its bases. Psychopathic pyknic are never purely pyknic, psychopathic leptosomic are never purely leptosomic; on the other hand prominent mixed forms and especially dysplastic forms give occasion in themselves for the "probable diagnosis" of psychopathy.[15] The more pyknic physique allows frequently the deduction of deviations of temperament in the sense of the "cycloid," whereas the more leptosomic

[15] These remarks relate to the premorbid personality in psychotics.

physique is related to "non-cycloid" deviations, and in the dysplastic one is able to see now and then an indication of psychopathic deviations in the realm of impulse.

The path from physique to character has been to some degree prepared in the foregoing: it passes through the strata of impulse and temperament. *It is not that a definite character belongs to a definite physique but rather that from the close association of physique and impulse-temperament, reacting jointly, there result the particular attitudes of the personality toward its ego and toward the environment, that is, the psychological superstructure of the direction of character.* The personality experiences its body,[16] its impulse-life, and its temperament in itself and in its interplay with the environment: the manner and method by which, that is *how,*[17] it experiences itself and beyond itself the environment determine its character direction. Every personality develops attitudes toward the ego and environment in a manner conditioned by its physical-impulsive-temperamental structure. Every personality has pyknic and leptosomic components and has an impulse-life and a temperament which, although generally complicated, are in some manner correlated with its pyknic or leptosomic components, and according to the actual predominance[18] of one or the other the fundamental character attitudes of the personality be-

[16] I emphasize the fact that the experience of organ inferiority is only a special case.

[17] That environmental elements enter into this *how* has been mentioned in the earlier discussion.

[18] This predominance need not be obvious. The fact should be recalled that not infrequently the physique of the same person is differently judged by different observers of equal experience and of equal faithfulness.

come causally conditioned more in the direction of the environment or more in the direction of the ego.

The fact should be especially stressed that the impulse *strength* has nothing to do either with the pyknic or with the leptosomic type, the environmental, or the ego-type, either with the masculine or with the feminine sex. Pyknic, environmental type and female on the one hand, leptosomic, ego-type and male on the other are marked by the kind and course and by correspondences of their impulse-life. The impulse-life is in the series of pyknic-environmental type—female—"closer to nature," fulfilling the personality in a higher degree and directly determining its tasks; it runs smoothly without coming into conflict with the environment. In the series of leptosomic-ego-type—male—the impulse-life is more distant, it is only one side of the personality even if the most vitally important; the obligations springing from it are fulfilled more incidentally; the impulsive is frequently sublimated, and the effort for the environment is accomplished not so much immediately as mediately through sublimation. As a result of the antithetically accentuated attitude toward the environment and as a result of the tendency toward sublimation, the impulse-life often does not run smoothly but instead leads to conflicts which themselves are again worked out through sublimation. In all these relationships there comes to light an unmistakable teleological characterization of both series and of their tasks for the community, and thus of their character direction.

These deductions are related to the theoretical case of pairs of entirely pure antithetical types, on the basis of a presupposition not only of average impulse strength but also of the corresponding temperament, which in the series, pyknic-environmental type—fe-

male—would correspond to a mixture of "cycloid" temperament qualities, and in the series, leptosomic-ego-type—male—to a mixture of "non-cycloid" temperamental qualities. Now every real personality is a mixture of components pertaining to pyknic and leptosomic,[19] environmental and ego-type, male and female (this lying in the fact of inheritance and sexual reproduction) which may be concordant in their interaction or secondarily balanced, but which may also remain discordant.[20] So in this aspect also a brief survey is given of the essence and origin of psychopathic personality.

According to the status of present knowledge it is not possible to classify psychopathic personalities according to their physique. One may well attempt with caution to employ the extreme physical types as points of orientation, and to estimate the physique of the individual psychopathic personality by the extreme type. It is possible to say that among psychopathic personalities certain pyknic euphorics (hypomanic temperament) come closest psychophysically to the ideal pyknic environmental type, and that furthermore they display an adjustment to the community which is far-reaching and very nearly *concordant*. In consequence it is frequently possible in the case of these pyknic euphorics to doubt whether they should be regarded as in any sense actually psychopathic: they are certainly the least psychopathic of all psychopaths. In contradistinc-

[19] Here belong also gradual deviations from the pyknic and leptosomic average type: fat and thin pyknic, leptosomic (asthenic) of more than average strength, or less than average weakness. Fatness in pyknic *can* be caused by dysplasm, meagerness in pyknic *can* be caused by leptosomatism.

[20] Here there enter also differences in development (infantilism) and anomalies in physique (dysplastic).

tion to these are asthenic and infantile asthenic psychopathic personalities who, although derived from the extreme leptosomic type, display considerable quantitative deviations in the physical realm as well as in impulse and temperament, above which the superstructure of psychopathic character is recognized.

One is frequently confronted with the fact that the leptosomic or asthenic physique has more to do with the psychopathic and occurs incomparably more frequently in psychopathic personalities than the pyknic physique. The foundation for this fact is to be found in our fundamental discussion concerning the pyknic physique and environmental attitude, the leptosomic physique and ego-attitude, with which the cycle of our remarks on the psychopathic preoccupation with one's own ego[21] has been in a certain sense closed. It is possible to say now: *The increased ego-inclination in the psychopathic personality is causally conditioned by biologically rooted deviations; it signifies finally the attempt toward a balancing of these deviations and their consequences for the sake of self-valuation.*

A general statement has already been made of the fact that the deviations in question not only take effect directly in diverse ways, but also are experienced in diverse manners according to the personality and its total construction. The pyknic experiences himself and the environment from the very start differently from the leptosomic, the healthy leptosomic differently from the asthenic or the infantile asthenic or the dysplastic,[22] the euphoric differently from the depressive or the ill-humored, etc. All these differences enter into finality and participate in the determination of the direction of the self-valuation.

[21] Cf. p. 251.

[22] Including also organ inferiority.

CHAPTER IX

COMPLEX PSYCHOPATHIC TYPES

(*Pictures of Psychopathic Personalities*)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

IN the foregoing chapters psychopathic types have been considered from the point of view of the individual strata: of the impulse-life, of the temperament, of the character. In addition an effort has been made to acquire a little insight into the physical bases of the psychopathic types. If the method chosen has been the right one the instruments should be at hand for consideration by the method of structural analysis toward which we have been striving from the outset. Obviously the task remains to show the practical application of structural analysis, that is, *to present from the point of view of structural analysis complex psychopathic types.* It is certainly expedient to add individual cases to the presentation of such types; on these cases the crucial experiment will be made to determine whether it is possible at all to handle individual cases from this point of view. We do not plan a defense of our method of consideration or of our case histories. Both of them have to justify themselves, that is to show by their utility whether they have a right to exist.

As far as the individual complex types are concerned there is scarcely anything fundamentally new to be expected. All our psychopathic types are in existence already and also have been described. What follows can make no claim to completeness. I do hope that with this method of consideration those psychopathic types whose structure is more complicated and indi-

vidual cases can also be grasped and made clear which either will not be mentioned here or will be noted only by way of suggestion. It seems of lesser significance whether this or that individual case is brought into a close relationship to this or that related type; it is essential that existing relationships on various sides shall not escape the structural analytic consideration.

It may appear surprising that the "cycloid" psychopaths are rather rare among the complex types and the individual cases which are about to be discussed. With regard to this it may be said that these psychopathic types which are characterized predominantly by mood have been described in detail in the chapter concerning the dysthymic, their relationship to the manic depressive cycle having been discussed also. Furthermore a previous remark should be repeated; particularly in those dysthymics which belong to the manic depressive cycle, or stand in essential relationship to the psychopathic offshoots of this cycle, markedly dystonic attitudes, that is attitudes psychopathic from the point of view of character, play a relatively subordinate rôle. In other words many of these dysthymics adjust to the community without any considerable friction or difficulty. That the psychopathic does not commonly exhaust itself in character may need no further substantiation here.

1. *Concerning Psychopathic Instability*[1]

(Passive Asocial Behavior of Psychopaths)

The concept "instability" (*Haltlosigkeit*) is a completely social one and signifies that a personality does not or is unable to maintain its appropriate position in the community. He fails to strive toward this position

[1] Cf. p. 22.

or fails to reach it. Herein is a general, although to be sure negative, characteristic, in our sense from the point of view of character. We could formulate this somewhat more cogently by saying that the "unstable" personality lacks the rectilinearity and certainty of steering toward a goal which is peculiar to the social personality. The social personality is scarcely to be regarded as a uniform type and this is just as true of the "unstable," that is of the passive asocial personality. The term "unstable psychopath" (*haltloser Psychopath*) is often nothing more than a casual diagnosis of convenience, through the help of which the diagnostician spares himself all further thought with regard to a psychopathic personality.

There is no clarification but merely a shifting of the question in the causal direction when instead of instability one speaks of weakness of will or lack of will. Of course the "unstable" are frequently "characterized by an influenceability of will which rules the whole conduct of life" (Kraepelin). But for the majority of cases this is nothing but a psychological pseudo-explanation of the social manifestation of "instability." The causal problem actually and really first begins back of the determinability of will, and only a somewhat satisfactory solution of this problem makes it possible to understand the finality of those personalities which appear "unstable."

Kramer explains that the "lability of the personality, this lack of steadiness in setting goals, the lesser intensity and permanence of the experience, is not the result of weakness of will but the cause of the behavior which we interpret as weakness of will." He writes: "The unstable often wills but is unable to carry out his will, not because of the weakness of his will but rather because inner impediments are in the way."

Kurt Schneider is entirely correct in emphasizing the fact that only in a very few cases is one justified in elevating the weakness of will to the position of the chief characteristic of the personality.[2] "Lack of will" and "strength of will" are not simple instruments of the personality but rather complex formations made up of impulsive and temperamental factors which are determined in their direction by the character. If too great emphasis be laid on the determinability of the will the danger is incurred of overvaluing the primary significance of the environment. It is not as if any material at all could be molded by the environment; on the contrary it depends on the peculiarity, on the moldability of the material, that is of the personalities concerned that they are so determinable by the stimuli of the environment.[3] Many of them really cannot help themselves; some of them are prevented from complete social derailment only by the special favor of external circumstances. It would be a mistake simply to assume the "unstable" to be "discouraged" in the sense of Adlerian individual psychology. Many of the "unstable" become discouraged when in spite of many honest attempts they fail repeatedly to become attached to the community. This however is not usually brought about by the community, the chief task of which is simply the assimilation of individuals, but instead it is the result of an incapacity variously conditioned and inherent in such personalities, an incapacity to fit themselves in, to adjust to a place in the social hypertely. Through their failures such psychopaths are occasionally driven into attitudes of overcompensation ("I am too good for

[2] Cf. p. 22.

[3] Kraepelin is to be agreed with in this sense when he says of the unstable "they are persons of *milieu,* to a certain degree psychically vacillating, following their surroundings in thought and action."

this world") and of resentment ("Everyone else is better treated than I"); this fact however is no argument for the general truth and outstanding significance of the hypothesis of discouragement.

It would be best if the use of the term "unstable psychopath" should be limited so far as possible and value laid upon the determination of the mode of conditioning of the "instability," that is the asocial (usually passive asocial) behavior of such psychopaths.[4] It may be rather hopeless to make a successful assault on the long accustomed word "unstable"; however, we prefer the term "passive asocial" in order to indicate the position which psychopathic personalities with "instability" assume toward the community. Through the bringing in of the word "passive" it is made clear furthermore that these personalities have not taken up their wrong position as the result of ill will; and finally by the word "passive" connection is established with the psychopathic character types which are predominately here in evidence. Against the use of terms "weak in will" and "lacking in will" there is first of all the fact that personalities of passively asocial behavior are in nowise generally so entirely weak or lacking in will; periodically and for proximate purposes and goals they are able to produce considerable energy. Furthermore there is necessary a certain strength of will in order to resist, if only passively, the community's tendency to assimilate.[5] The "weakness of will"

[4] In the realm of criminal psychopathology it may be expedient with Birnbaum to make of the unstable type the two subtypes, the asocial parasitic and the antisocial (habitual criminal), and to oppose these to the morally defective (professional criminal).

[5] Kurt Schneider thinks rightly that with these types it is "not a matter of a lack or weakness of the act of will but instead of slight depth and permanence of motive."

in the types concerned is in general and in particular very relative; this relativity becomes especially clear in passive asocial behavior from which in the course of the development of the personality a way may still be found into the community. The reason for this lies not simply in the fact that the will has become strong or firm, but rather in a conditioning through developmental change of the impulsive and temperamental bases which previously were unbalanced and have now come to a sort of equilibrium. I believe that this fact is particularly well illustrated in the very frequent passive asociality or "instability" during puberty and during prolonged puberty; there is no doubt concerning the conditioning of such puberal behavior through impulse and temperament—one might also say through body (endocrinity)—very often it is possible for the personalities concerned to keep to their social byway only through a considerable energy[6] such as is scarcely to be explained on the basis of "weakness of will." Just these circumstances make it possible for us to agree with Kraepelin when he draws the conclusion from the age of his "unstable" and from the regression of "instability" (which has reached its peak in men before the thirtieth, in women before the twentieth, year) "that we are dealing here chiefly with a natural maturation process," and that "instability" is a "manifestation of psychic immaturity." One may assume that those personalities which remain in the broadest sense passively asocial beyond the developmental period, are "immature," that is are personali-

[6] The special tone of the misbehavior which has led to the term "sowing wild oats" is frequently to be related to overcompensatory formations; not infrequently, to be sure, there is in the background a surplus of energy which is fed by hyperthymic (hypomanic) temperament factors.

ties whose bases in impulse and temperament have not attained complete balanced development. Here there is offered an explanation for the marked generality of passive asocial elements in all psychopathic personalities, in whom we always recognize as the essential basis lack of uniformity and balance in the development of significant realms of the total psychic (psychophysical) structure. There may be added still another aspect which is, so to speak, negative: under certain circumstances "instability" may occur as well in personalities which previously have been passively asocial to a high degree, as in personalities which have never been striking in this respect; in situations through which often enough both outwardly and inwardly it is difficult to see a way, serious social derailment can occur. One cannot but think that in very many persons there slumbers a bit of latent passive asociality, and that in them somewhere and in some way the personality structure is in an unstable equilibrium, which can be disturbed through special combinations of impulsive and temperamental processes together with the intermingling of outer stimuli (malversation on the part of well-tried officials, many cases of marital infidelity, social and business behavior during the war and the period of inflation, etc.). Many personalities may be so fortunate as to live under circumstances which free them from the necessity of making use of their latent passive asociality; others well understand how to keep dark their manifest passive asociality and its effects "with money and good words."

The occurrence of the culminating point of passive asociality in the woman on a younger age level, and the partially related quantitative predominance of passive asociality in men, gives another clue to the relative significance of the environment for this psychopathic

phenomenon. In view of the (*sit venia verbo*) looser personality structure of the woman and the greater passivity fundamental in the female, there would be expected in women a predominance of passive asociality. Its manifestation however is blocked by the fact that the woman, in accordance with the peculiar significance of her task—the preservation of the species—is in general socially more protected than is the man. Especially as she enters into the age in which she can become a mother, this protection through the social institution of marriage is granted in a remarkably higher degree than to the man. This fact remains in spite of the experience that in unquiet times, in periods during which the ethics[7] of marriage are undergoing a certain transformation, there is not only much talk of the woman's living her own life, but also frequently a very considerable advantage is taken of the situation. There are usually episodic manifestations which in the course of community development play no very dangerous rôle; for causal-biological reasons they usually disappear relatively quickly.

With the foregoing remarks concerning passive asocial behavior in puberty and in the sexes we have already entered upon a discussion of the significance of the foundation in impulse for the phenomenon of "instability." It is quite possible to say that, considered from the point of view of impulse, "instability" is frequently conditioned by absolute or relative weakness

[7] Undoubtedly all ethical and moral conceptions are pure formations of expediency which within the personality belong to its character stratum. That is moral which corresponds with the telie (system of purposes) of the community; every community constructs its own moral system and changes it as soon as necessity for change arises through alteration of its set-goals. This is the meaning of the phrase "the end justifies the means."

of impulse, and by uncertainty of impulse, and more rarely but nevertheless occasionally by relative or absolute strength of impulse ("impulsivity"). Frequently persons *weak in impulse,* who lack the impulse swing, are "unstable"; as a result of lack in vital turgor, they allow themselves to be driven. In such personalities the influence of the environment in a certain sense replaces the lack of personal vigor. They are often asthenic persons generally poorly endowed from the point of view of body, lacking inner drive as well as inner resistance, and on this account they are easily set in motion from without. Their impulse-life remains partially undifferentiated. On this account they may continue in a state of adolescent uncertainty of impulse and become sexually derailed especially in the period of and immediately succeeding puberty: that is, the weakness and uncertainty of their impulses prevents or retards their sexual differentiation, makes them in the realm of sexuality half searchers, half sought after, leaves them caught in masturbation, and leads them under certain circumstances to homosexuality or to other sexual perversions (masochism, exhibitionism, pedophilia). For the particular direction which their development assumes, their *temperamental* type is determinative usually in a greater degree than the environment, less often equally with it, and rarely in a lesser degree. Persons weak in impulse who are phlegmatic or torpid are less easily set in motion from without than are the hyperthymic. Among the latter the tachythymic are indeed the most open to seduction, whereas personalities of this group with depressive and especially with sensitive temperaments or temperament traits, because of their circumspection, sensitivity, and restraint incline to scruples, and "instinctively" resist many environmental influences which

are dangerous to them. However, marked passive asocial behavior is to be found even in depressive and sensitive personalities, and behind it there is usually to be recognized on closer observation a psychologically intelligible foundation in feelings of inferiority, resentment, intimidation, and defiance. In such cases of passive asociality as acquire from their environment all kinds of material for overcompensatory behavior ("smartness," clumsiness, and crudity of behavior and speech, coarseness and aggression toward the other sex), it is not always easy to lay bare the roots of weakness in impulse and sensitive insecurity which are often carefully concealed. Warning should be given against misuse and uncritical generalization of the clear insight which we owe with regard to this point to the efforts of the Adlerian School. There is no question that in such cases of passive asociality with weakness and insecurity in impulse, the experience of organ inferiority can play a significant rôle. Some such persons are easy-going, lazy, and loath to work for reasons arising from the corporeal (weakness) and the temperament (phlegmaticism, torpor); with others the evasion of all work is to be explained and understood on the basis of resentment, overcompensation, and defiance.

Overcompensation and *defiance* even in cases of relative and absolute strength of impulse, are often important accessory agents in the genesis of passive asociality. What allows some persons strong in impulse to pass over into "instability" is primarily the lack of control of their impulse-life; these are persons who from the start yield to every impulse. Here very often hyperthymic temperaments are frequently encountered in combination with coldness of affect, that from the point of view of character are entirely concen-

trated on themselves, passively and very rarely actively autistic,[8] sometimes with ambitendent inclinations; not a few of the excitable and irritable and even some euphorics, usually with tachythymic traits, belong here. They are for the most part passively asocial from the start, failing to adjust even in the kindergarten and in the school, beginning early with petty crimes, and showing almost more tendency to juvenile delinquency than the weak in impulse already discussed. In their "instability" there is evidence of a certain buoyancy which comes from the impulsive strength and the hyperthymic elements: many gamblers and profiteers, prostitutes, and bullies, are to be found among them, whereas the majority of prostitutes, vagabonds, and those who are constantly changing their jobs, are recruited from the rank of the weak in impulse. From the buoyancy, that is, from a relative activity in this type, there may develop peculiar character mechanisms in the sense of overcompensation and defiance. A case of this kind in which a serious organ inferiority played a rôle from the outset may be cited in illustration:

A 28-year-old factory girl, Strei., was the illegitimate daughter of a brutal drunkard who never bothered about his child. She was 4 ft. 9.4 in. in height, weakly and hunchbacked (rickets). She was made fun of in school because of her hump so "the fury took her." She lost her mother at the age of 7 years and was much beaten by her stepmother whom she feared. In elementary school she had to repeat a grade. After a brief activity as apprentice and nurse-girl she arrived in a convent school where she was easy to manage with kindness. If one paid no attention to her she did as she wanted. She was disor-

[8] Active and autistic *anti*socials, "enemies of society," do not belong in this group. Although there occur, however, transition forms, the passive asocial type—even the strong in impulse—lacks the ruthless activity which marks the active autist.

derly, sensitive, cool and rather unapproachable, indifferent toward punishment and inclined to lying and stealing. After many changes of position she had an affair with an artist who set her to street walking. The result was gonorrhea, lues, punishment for loafing, professional prostitution, banishment from the city, breach of ban. At 21 she attempted suicide for fear of her bully whom she had gotten into prison. In the clinic she was gloomy, blocked, hostile, impudent, irritable and extremely suspicious: she thought that people talked ill of her. She seemed almost torpid but was very sensitive, resistant. At home she was badly treated. When she was caught without money or lodging and brought to the police she repeatedly fought violently. Half obstinately half pertly she begged not to be thrown out on the street but demanded, cursing, that the magistrate to whom she would still bring a child into the world each year, should pay for her. She was embittered, not without a touch of biting humour. In the clinic she worked periodically industriously and dependably.

The connection which exists between "instability" and poikilothymia[9] seems to be important. There are "unstable" personalities who are "cycloid" (cyclothymic and circular). These are personalities in whom a temperamental alteration between impulse-loaded hyperthymia (euphoria, irritability) and impulse-lacking inhibition and depression lead to disastrous results.

The 48-year-old single seamstress, Beu. who up to the present has been 18 times in the clinic, since her 18th year, has escaped again and again in order to exceed unscrupulously in Venere et Baccho. Sometimes she had depressive moods lasting hours or days which could undergo sudden transmutation. Frequently she had thoughts of suicide and then she drank. Earlier she had masturbated much. In spite of the climacterium, which had set in in her 45th year she still had occasionally (in

[9] The impulsive and character make-up of poikilothymics has already been discussed.

hyperthymic conditions) vigorous sexual need to which she sometimes yielded impulsively. It was a case of a good-hearted pyknic who, coming from a good social *milieu,* frequently complained bitterly over her bungled life.

Whereas this case may still be reckoned among the "cycloid" psychopaths, what follows is a case of outspoken manic-depressive psychosis, but may well be noted here because of his classic "instability."

Oef., 50 years old, single, was a tramp. Even as a child he was sometimes frolicsome, sometimes very sensitive and shy, and often restlessly ran away from home. In his 20th year he began his wanderings, was frequently excited, irritable, unsocial. He had been repeatedly in mental hospitals under the diagnosis "psychopath" yet it is clear from the other observations as well as from frequent and long continued observations in the Munich Clinic that he often had strongly retarded melancholic and irritably melancholic moods. In the latter he was frequently impelled to vagrancy. He could not stand it anywhere, quarreled with everybody and always wandered further.

In connection with this it may be mentioned that in some cases which have been given the somewhat misplaced diagnosis of "unstable, excitable psychopath" the high-grade, often explosive, excitability and irritability make them so unsociable that they never can stand it anywhere, or no one can stand it with them. They are thus compelled, apparently "unstable," continually to hunt up new positions or vocations.

Of the so-called schizoid personalities the active autists are usually not "unstable"—not passively asocial —but actively asocial, that is, antisocial. Obviously transitional forms occur. On the other hand many a passive autist in his striving for self-protection goes over into passive asociality. Passive autists seem to me to be rather frequent among social parasites: prosti-

tutes, tramps, and habitual criminals, from whom actively autistic professional criminals (Heindl) are to be differentiated. Habitual criminals, however, are in general not purely passive autists but have also active elements; in particular, overcompensatory egocentricity on the basis of poverty of affect is frequently to be found in them. It has been noted that the "discouragement" of individual psychology cannot do justice to the criminal.

Why I did not give to this brief survey on passive asociality of psychopathic personalities, the title "unstable psychopaths," in view of the foregoing remarks it will be scarcely necessary to explain at greater length. I consider it erroneous to believe in a type of "unstable psychopath" and in consequence misleading to describe such a type. On the other hand "instability" is a very widespread psychopathic manifestation, discussion of which cannot well be omitted from the scope of a presentation of psychopathic personalities.

2. *The Problem of Schizoid Types*

From the historical standpoint it must be said that the problem of the types which were later called schizoids first took form in psychiatric literature with Kraepelin's description (1913) of the peculiar premorbid personalities of schizophrenics.[10] A further step was made by Berze[11] and Medow[12] who demonstrated

[10] (1) Quiet, shy, reserved; (2) excitable, sensitive, obstinate, bigoted; (3) indolent, loath to work, restless; (4) guidable, good-natured, conscientious, and honest (model boy). Bleuler (1917) has added to these as a fifth type the paranoid in their pettifogging, actively inventive, and eccentric manifestations who are incapable of discussion.

[11] Berze explains "that the degree of lack of insight, unteachableness, foolish fondness, supersensitivity, prudishness, whimsicality, in

psychopathic personalities among the relatives of *dementia praecox* patients. Rüdin[13] has cautiously referred to such personalities.

The word schizoid was introduced by Kurt Binswanger who in brief mentioned what Bleuler's school understood by schizoid psychopathy.[14] Since the descrip-

brief abnormal make-up which is often shown by the ancestors and the siblings of our *dementia* praecox patients, is far beyond the average; that the case in which no psychic abnormalities are to be demonstrated on the side of either parent of a *dementia praecox* patient is distinctly rare." "To be sure the so-called abnormal character is frequently nothing else than an ensemble of very slightly developed psychopathic phenomena which are to be regarded as manifestations of the praecox-Anlage."

[12] Medow found in members of schizophrenic families who showed no mental disease: "poverty of feeling and brutality, moral inferiority which turns particularly against the subject's own family"; "avarice, greed, irascibility, superstition, bigotry, mistrust to such a degree as to intimate ideas of reference, loathing of work, restlessness, instability" "in part psychopathies with complicated character changes especially showing depletion of feeling and restlessness, and in part neurasthenic pictures." These types are according to the opinion of Medow "separated by a wide gulf in carefully observed pictures from schizophrenia."

[13] "It is possible, . . . that these schizophrenic psychopaths may represent *one* phaenotypic expression of a series of genotypes which are to some degree or even predominantly involved in the development of *dementia praecox* and hence crop up again and again in *dementia praecox* families or are of necessity more frequently found in such families than in families free from *dementia praecox*."

[14] "Here belong autistic persons who may be outwardly rough, repellent, often offensive, although their affectivity is not markedly schizophrenic and although they are able to create outstanding values in certain professions. Here belong furthermore paranoid characters with excellent affectivity, who are able to sacrifice themselves for others although, because of their deep distrust, living in general discord with all people. Again eccentric fellows with peculiar ideas which they are unable to substantiate, or highly intelligent who do nothing but take examinations without ever finishing, and finally

tion of schizoid types by Kretschmer, numerous psychiatrists have taken a stand with regard to the problem.

The nucleus of the so-called schizoid personality has been seen primarily[15] in the premorbid make-up of schizophrenic patients. The concept of schizoid has been overextended owing to the joint efforts of its supporters and of its opponents.

A critique of the schizoid may set out from relationships to *dementia praecox* without being fixed as to these relationships; it is quite possible, in so far as they actually exist, that these relationships are of a different sort than has been thought hitherto.

One cannot overlook the fact that there is a certain homogeneousness between those premorbid personalities, which Kraepelin and Bleuler pointed out, and the abnormal (psychopathic) types which were described by Berze and Medow. The possibility has been repeatedly considered, first by Kraepelin, that the premorbid peculiarities of schizophrenics may perhaps be conditioned by the disease process and that the schizoids considered to be psychopaths are at least in part (Bumke[16] and others) already in a condition of schizo-

persons who everywhere suffer shipwreck and allow themselves to be taught neither by words nor by fate. It is such types as these which are found with striking frequency among the relatives of manifest *dementia praecox* patients."

[15] In the last years J. Lange and Gruhle have in spite of a very critical attitude issued communications on the basis of their own researches which speak decisively for the greater frequency of "ill-grown, disharmonic" persons with prominent autistic features (Lange), or of persons "hostile to the environment" (Gruhle) in the premorbid schizophrenic personalities. H. Hoffmann has continually brought this fact into prominence in a series of works.

[16] Persons with "a suggestion of schizophrenic symptoms" Bumke ranks as "defectively healed or abortive forms of schizophrenia." "We

phrenic defectiveness.[17] But it has not been possible to prove this and in consequence Kraepelin was obliged to write: "There are doubtless numerous persons who carry through their whole life such traits as we have earlier[18] described without ever becoming mentally ill."

A mistake which has been made in the elaboration of schizoid types must be admitted in all frankness. It was at least heuristically correct to unite in groups diverse personality types which have been found in schizophrenic families and to seek in them certain factors in common and eventually to presuppose temporarily that such factors exist.[19] It was not correct to attach arbitrarily, to every type in any way striking or peculiar in a family tainted with schizophrenia, the label schizoid. A remark of Rüdin's[20] from the year 1916

will attempt to sort out from the psychopathies those cases which in reality are disguised or abortive schizophrenics. It is possible that in this way the eccentrics for example, and certain cranky fanatics who, being dominated by one idea, lack all psychic flexibility, all tolerance, and all understanding for others, and similarly all sense of humor—that these types will one day ultimately disappear from the circle of psychopathic forms." Bumke is thinking here of Wilmann's tramps.

[17] A statement made by H. Hoffmann seems to indicate more in this direction than the author may have intended: "One frequently gains the impression with certain schizoids that they have gone through a schizophrenic psychosis before birth."

[18] Cf. n. 10, p. 326.

[19] I may call attention to the fact that I have found a stepladder of characteristics in psychopaths with schizophrenic consanguinity according to which the types may be thus arranged: (1) affectively dull; (2) affectively cold, affectless, ethically defective; (3) shy, retiring, reserved; (4) peculiar, eccentric; (5) hypochondriac-nervous; (6) sensitive; (7) paranoid; (8) irritable.

[20] "But we know today that non-schizophrenic psychopaths occur also in *dementia praecox* families: for example, unstable, peculiarly

long remained almost entirely unheeded. Within recent years Adolf Schneider in particular has called attention to this error and asserted that owing to the constantly renewed influx of blood from non-schizophrenic families it is impossible to expect to find in families tainted with schizophrenia only psychopaths who resemble schizophrenics, that is who are schizoid.

We assume that there are in schizophrenic consanguinity more peculiar personalities who resemble schizophrenics in one way or another than there are in non-schizophrenic consanguinity. This is evident today not only from general experience but also on the basis of the statistic inquiries of Schulz and Kattentidt concerning the fate of nieces and nephews of schizophrenics, that is concerning the hereditary tainting of the average population.

We have now to consider the following two questions:

1. Wherein consists the peculiarity of these extraordinary persons, and can it be brought to a common denominator?

2. In the present condition of our knowledge, what is it possible to deduce concerning their relationships to schizophrenia?

An entirely different and completely subordinate question is as to whether there are any "schizoids" at all. This question I would like to modify in this way: Is it expedient to apply the term schizoid[21] to the types in question whether as a whole or in part?

obstinate and incorrigible criminals who have no schizophrenic features, unless the concept of schizophrenic mental behavior would be expanded so much that ultimately no person could ever be called free of it."

[21] Until Kretschmer's formulations one placed the schizoid psychopaths between the healthy (schizothymic) and the sick (schizo-

The concept schizoid was built up from *dementia praecox*. In spite of our ignorance of the essence of schizophrenia the opinion among psychiatrists seems to be pretty general that schizophrenia is some sort of "organic" illness, especially in the central group of cases concerning which it is believed that a relationship to the schizoid can be assumed with the greatest certainty. It would be possible to say: If a psychopathic personality type be derived from an organic illness the nature of which is not known, the same thing could be attempted with every other organic illness, for example, with tuberculosis. Although such an idea may appear intrinsically senseless it becomes plausible, when with regard to an illness or a situation in which the presence or course of an ordinary disease can be assumed with good reason, definite psychological or psychopathological facts can be observed; when, furthermore, in this illness the organ concerned is the brain and when hereditary constitutional factors participate. This seems to be generally the case at least with a central group of schizophrenics. Here Kraepelin's (1913) and Bleuler's (1917) remarks which are unbiased with regard to the schizoid, are of particular significance. Furthermore, the strikingly low percentage—65.5 (1923), 55.7 (1925)—which Hoffmann reck-

phrenic). Bleuler (in *Affektivität, Suggestibilität, Paranoia,* 2d ed. [Halle, 1926]) has made of the schizoid a transition group from the healthy (schizothymic) to the psychopaths which he terms schizopaths; the schizophrenic would then follow these. It is possible to arrive at the solution of calling everything schizopathic which doubtlessly is in some biological relationship with schizophrenia. Then one would be able to use the term schizoid for those manifestations which may recall schizophrenic and schizopathic phenomena without the presence or the demonstrability of any biological connection with schizophrenia.

oned as representing among his schizophrenics the premorbid schizoid make-up will scarcely signify too much. It means a definite positive relationship between the premorbid schizoid and the later schizophrenia entirely apart from the possibility which I discussed earlier (1923), that many schizophrenics who do not appear phenotypically schizoid may nevertheless possess the corresponding genotype. At all events the premorbid schizoid make-up—the phenotype schizoid—as I have also remarked earlier, cannot be taken as a necessary condition for schizophrenia. In this I am in agreement with Hoffmann and Bostroem. At present we are concerned first of all with the psychopathic schizoids. The assumption is indisputable that at least a considerable number of the so-called schizoids are not organically sick in the sense of a disease process.[22] Now if in such personalities qualities and modes of behavior are constantly met which cannot be distinguished from the corresponding manifestations of processively sick persons, the heuristic assertion is well justifiable that we are concerned here with homogeneousness.[23] Furthermore there is the frequently homogeneous occurrence in families already mentioned. On the basis of this apparently double homogeneousness the formation of a special group or form of psychopathy seems not to be without justification. In so saying we do not anticipate anything in our discussion about the actual relationship between these psychopathies and schizophrenia or concerning the kind of relationship.

At this point the question is to be touched upon as to

[22] *Not* "processively sick" (*prozesskrank*).

[23] Even Bostroem although he sought the way out could not escape interpretation of the schizoid personality traits in the disease process as a pathoplastic expression of the personality.

whether Kretschmer's teaching concerning physique and psychic personality in its application to the realm of the schizophrenic cycle and to the psychopathies contained in it, is suited to serve as a third support for the statement of a schizoid psychopathy. In this regard it is to be remarked first of all that as far as I can see there is no longer any doubt as to the existence of a positive relationship of the pyknic physique with the manic depressive cycle or with the manic depressive predisposition; i.e., the manic depressive tends to be pyknic or the pyknic physique favor the manic depressive predisposition.

That can be reversed with complete logic: the non-manic depressive psychotic or psychopath will have no strong relationship to the pyknic physique. Now there are a number of psychic predispositions which do not belong in the manic depressive realm. If a schizoid-schizophrenic psychic predisposition be assumed, it will cover only a portion of the non-manic depressive psychic predispositions; but it may be suspected that this predisposition stands in a certain negative relationship to the pyknic type, that, more clearly said, the schizoid-schizophrenic are more rarely pyknic than the manic depressive. Nevertheless the conclusion is in no way justified that the temporarily subsumed schizoid-schizophrenic predisposition has a positive relationship to the totality of the non-pyknic physiques representing a counterpart to the relationship between the pyknic type and the manic depressive. With such an assertion instead of the logical pair of opposites "pyknic-manic depressive"—"non-pyknic-non-manic depressive" there would have been stated the illogical pair of opposites; the "manic depressive-pyknic"—"schizoid-schizophrenic-leptosome, athletic, dysplas-

tic." Thus it is to be said here, that of the fairly well-confirmed facts in Kretschmer's teaching, merely a certain negative relationship to the pyknic physique can be considered as favoring the assumption of a schizoid psychopathy as a third similarity between psychopathic (schizoid) and processive (schizophrenic) types.[24]

Summarizing briefly, we came on the "historical road" to the following preliminary conclusion: there are in families tainted with schizophrenia striking personalities not processively sick who have three things in common with the schizophrenics, i.e., (1) psychic qualities and manners of behavior; (2) occurrence together in the same families; (3) a certain negative relationship to the pyknic physique.

At the instigation of Kleist, A. Schneider consistently pursued this method which is rooted in the clinical. He arrived at four types in schizophrenic families which he found equally in prepsychotic and in psychopathic persons and which he termed asocial, affectively

[24] The fact is nevertheless not to be overlooked that the relationship of Kretschmer's so-called dysplastic types to schizophrenia is either very loose or in some way indirect. Various authors have been able to find material with reference to dysplastic types (Heinrich Fischer, Riese) from which actually no association can be derived for an inner connection with schizophrenia. The cretins, who are certainly sufficiently dysplastic, are also striking in this connection. Bostroem's well-justified reference to the frequency of dysplastic physiques among the non-schizophrenic inmates of institutions for feeble-minded is interesting. That there should be dysplastics among the schizophrenics is comprehensible merely on the basis of the laws of probability. In addition there is the fact that a poorly balanced physique is fundamentally more inclined to illness than a harmonious physique. It is a next step to think of disturbances in the correlation of inner secretion. Obviously the situation is not to be reversed and the possibility disputed as to whether some eunuchoids, for example, may become schizophrenic.

false, vague, cranks.[25] The justification for Schneider's clinical endeavor is indisputable. No one can escape his classifications who attempts to grasp and describe with a clinical emphasis the psychopathic types in question. It is impossible to overlook, however, that he schematized his psychopaths in the direction of the psychotic varieties.

The efforts of Claude and his co-workers have been in the same direction, to give the schizoid *une physiognomie clinique beaucoup plus limitée* without entirely forgetting that in psychiatry there exist no *limites nettes.* The French author's attempt to differentiate the *Constitution schizoïde* from the other psychopathic "constitutions"—the paranoiac, mythomanic (pseudologistic), emotive-psychasthenic, that is, those with whom the schizoid seems to have features in common. For them schizoidia is not a manner of behavior (*attitude*), but instead a permanent condition (*état habituel*); frequently psychopathically tainted, the schizoid shows even in childhood a tendency toward loneliness and dreaminess. Adjustment to external reality is an eternal difficulty for the schizoid and he fails in practical life which he likes to neglect; he prefers his inner world to the outer world, he does not act and struggle because he *will* not.[26] Schizomania[27] and schi-

[25] To the names asocial, affectively false, vague, and crank, A. Schneider prefixes the terms autistic, heboid, schizoid, in a narrower sense, in order to avoid the impression "that these personalities are already half catatonic schizophrenic or paranoid dements," and furthermore because he is of the opinion that such psychopaths are to be found even though less frequently outside the schizophrenic hereditary group.

[26] In contradistinction to the psychasthenic who does not act because he *cannot,* or to the paranoiac who likes to struggle.

[27] In the schizoid who is secluded from the world but not entirely lacking adjustment, schizomania is set free psychogenically (affec-

zophrenia are, so to speak, the psychoses of choice for the schizoid.

As a further representative of clinical procedure Ssucharewa may be mentioned. She has attempted to outline a psychopathic group setting out with schizoid children "whose clinical picture shows many features in common with the schizophrenic although being sharply separated from schizophrenia with regard to pathogenesis." The author assumes "that the schizoid psychopathies spring from a basis of an innate insufficiency in those systems which are affected in schizophrenia (but here under the influence of other factors)."

One might well question whether the so-called schizoid types established by these individual authors are all correctly seen. There must be general agreement concerning the fundamental justification of this clinical procedure as long as a clear-cut clinical method is observed and nothing but clinical results are sought. Thus the types observed by Kretschmer and described by him in a masterly fashion have signified an unquestioned enrichment of clinical psychiatry. Nevertheless Kretschmer may have demanded or expected too much

tively) or somatogenically (through the agency of toxin or infection); the adjustment to the environment vanishes; thought processes dominated by complexes glide over into fantasies and reveries. Schizophrenia going a step further produces phenomena of dissociation, ultimately the complete loss of contact with reality. On the other hand *la vraie démence précoce*—with the subforms paranoid, hebephrenia with delusions and catatonia—leads to dementia and stands entirely outside of the *Constitution schizoïde.* The classification of Claude recalls an endeavor of our own (Kahn) and the classification of Berze: schizoid psychosis, schizophrenia, *dementia praecox.* From the clinical standpoint I believe that some fundamental concepts of Claude, Berze, and myself, which are rather homogeneous, may be correct and heuristically useful.

from his clinical method of approach. It is not possible to attain a complete theory of personality if one starts out from the inevitably limited horizon of the psychiatric clinician, and if one takes two clinical cycles—important as they may be for psychiatry—as the basis of a most comprehensive system of temperament and character. That an investigator of Kretschmer's caliber was able to see and to discover so much that is unquestionably right and significant even by pursuing an incorrect method merely confirms an experience of long standing: that it is more important to be able to walk than it is to know the exact way.

The aim here is not to direct a polemic against Kretschmer or against Bleuler who finally drew syntonia and schizothymia into the psychic norm and postulated their occurrence in every person—particularly when our own conception has very many points in common with the conceptions of these two investigators. We desire to proceed consistently, and above all to keep clear that a psychological method of consideration of these problems may well exist side by side with the clinical, that, however, we would get into a fatal confusion if we fail to keep different viewpoints separated and distinguished.

The fact has been often emphasized, particularly frequently by Bumke, that there is a flowing transition from the psychopathic or "functional" manifestations into the "norm." As a matter of fact we are today accustomed to see this as a matter of course. Herein is meant and has been meant that minor single manifestations of greater or less complexity—sad or cheerful mood, certain disturbances of willing and feeling—become particularly marked in certain personalities which in lesser degree exist also in the average. This does not mean that the personality concerned is en-

tirely characterized by these single manifestations. But that was formerly claimed when one talked of schizoids and cycloids—and wrongly claimed. In this way one had come to characterize exhaustively the most complicated personalities with the label "schizoid," and a door had been opened in this branch of personality investigation for a truly banal schematization. It is superfluous to say that neither was this intended by Kretschmer nor was he guilty of it.

It is true that every personality is constructed of an abundance of single qualities which each for itself leads in some sense into the general and typical. The attempt should have been made to arrive at the general and typical from the so-called schizoid also, and the attempt was actually made, to be sure with the fatal presumption, in favor of a too complex consideration of the schizoid. In consequence characteristics of all kinds were seen in combination with the schizoid—which belonged to the personality concerned but which did not necessarily stand in an absolute relationship to the "radicals" or to the "radical" of the schizoid. The attempt was to proceed from the schizoid to the typical, but one did not succeed in detaching the gaze from the schizoid itself. Hence the endeavors to explain the schizoid on the basis of a normal manner of behavior as Ewald and recently Bostroem at various times have done, were perfectly justified—but these different remarks were made in a negatively critical attitude and could not lead ahead. To be sure it was not a difficult task to "prove" that there exists no schizoid at all but nevertheless I do not believe that our science would have been able to derive any advantage from such a procedure.

In spite of all the difficulty in defining the schizoid it is impossible to escape the impression that the person-

alities concerned do not incline to the anomalies of mood (Lange) which dominate the picture in cycloid personalities. In this there is apparently given the antithesis of the manifestations which Kretschmer and Hoffmann described from the start. Thereupon the schizoid and the cycloid have been frequently handled entirely as opposites. Was it not necessary to ask whether the first appearance of every anomaly of mood in cycloids was possibly dependent on certain presuppositions, the lack of which in other types would generally prevent the development of anomalies of mood? Then the further question arises as to whether these presuppositions can work themselves out entirely in the realm of vacillations in mood, which for the sake of theory has occasionally been identified with the concept of temperament. This question was first outlined by Lange who believes "that anomalies correspond to the schizoid not only in the realm of affectivity but also in our total psychic life even though most clearly in the realm of affectivity." Lange, who has accomplished the most penetrating and positive critique of the schizoid, touches upon what is in my opinion the most central problem. He asserts "that the schizoid is associated with the healthy, and with the psychopathic, transforming this peculiarly; that the great variety of types described has nothing to do with the essence and degree of the schizoid quality but instead is a matter of the personalities that are afflicted with it."

Starting from the psychopathic schizoid all attempts were necessarily handicapped by the fact that over and over again total pictures of personalities were fascinating as representatives of the schizoid; therefore the results toward which we were striving were troubled by the presuppositions which interfered with our explanations.

On this account it seems to be demanded to begin for once far from all psychopathic types, in a sense at the other end; not to ask wherein the psychopathic manifestation disappears when it is isolated and more and more diluted, but instead to lay down certain psychological basic attitudes and to proceed from these toward the personality, finally toward the psychopathic personality. In this attempt one may be protected from boundless abstraction when the psychological basic attitudes show themselves to rest on a clear biological basis as a sort of direct manifestation of ultimate biological facts.

The personality pictures with which we are working we must consider and test on the basis of their typical peculiarities. In this way we set out somewhat schematically. From this point of view it is impossible to grasp every single individual in his psychophysical totality; but it is this which frequently complicates inextricably the single case beyond the point of view of type: its entrance as a totality into every slightest phase of its psychophysical existence.[28] Thus undoubtedly the typical is frequently concealed or blotted out from our observation so that it is often the most difficult task to pick out what is typical. Furthermore it is important that considering personalities one may see and pick out a great variety of the typical from various points of view. We will illustrate once more from the cycloid and schizoid types. The former have been considered with particular emphasis on their basic mood and their mood vacillations. In the latter there

[28] In dealing with the "reactions" a certain degree of schematization is also unavoidable although in every single reaction it is not a definite psychic mechanism or a definite physical apparatus which comes into an *isolated* activity but rather—perhaps by way of a particular mechanism or apparatus—the whole organism.

have been seen primarily but not exclusively character peculiarities. Now the cycloid types which are very complex in themselves have been opposed to the schizoid types on the basis of the presence or absence of mood anomalies. What then justified the assumption that character peculiarities are precluded in persons with mood anomaly, and that anomalies of mood are precluded in persons with character anomalies?[29] Purely on the basis of experience even Kretschmer in his unexcelled descriptions was frequently untrue to the theoretical headlines of his types. In this respect Lange pointed as an example to certain constitutional depressives described by Kretschmer.

Furthermore it is not logical to assume that at and after the transition from the cycloid with psychopathic anomalies of mood to the range of health one has to meet the outgoing, affectively well-responsive types. The normal representatives of the cycloid type would have to be, if strict adherence is to be accorded to theory, persons in whom what pertains to mood is clearly prominent.[30] It signifies certainly an advance when Bleuler with others emphasizes the fact that his syntonics and schizothymics are not at opposite poles but instead that it is a matter of "peculiarities within the realm of the intellectual processes as well as of

[29] Bleuler asserted that "the 'cyclothymics' need just as little to be subjected to affective vacillations in the sense of a cyclothymia as the term has been previously used, as do healthy persons who are called 'syntonic.'"

[30] Must one not consider the fact that anomalies of mood in outgoing persons simply come more clearly and exactly to manifestation than they do in eccentric persons in whom a depressive vacillation may be blotted out or concealed, for example, by an eccentric irritability or shyness? Conversely, is it not possible that many peculiarities may be present even in outgoing persons but weakened and modified in their effect through the "syntonia"?

affect." It thus becomes plausible that actually or apparently the two types can be mingled in the same individual. To say this, however, is to shift the problem, because fundamentally in these two types something antithetical was actually in mind which proceeded from the aprioristic opposition of the circular and schizophrenic psychosis. This should not be forgotten.

If we do not avoid the assumption of the presence of some sort of antithesis between syntonic and schizothymic (dystonic), insight into the greater frequency of anomalies of mood among syntonics or cycloids will help us as little as insight into the greater frequency of eccentricity among schizothymics or schizoids, for these manifestations are not antithetical. Is it not possible aside from all clinical and clinico-pathological groupings to detect a fundamental opposition in psychic behavior, which can be found again perhaps, fundamental as the "radical" in complicated reactions and in the structure of personalities. This indicates a different path from the one pursued thus far in the study of the schizoid.

We are of the opinion that the fundamental psychic attitudes which are of use here have their representatives in the *attitude toward ego and environment* and in the types we have designated as *ego-types* and as *environmental types.* We have endeavored to explain the significance of the varied form of the attitude toward the personal ego for the characterology of special psychopathic types, and also for psychopaths in general. We have tried furthermore to show that between the ego-attitude and certain temperamental psychopathies there exist definite positive relationships, whereas in other temperamental psychopathies the ego-attitude may recede into the background. Light was shed on these facts by Ewald, although in a somewhat exagger-

ated manner, when he expressed the opinion that Kretschmer's schizoids were nothing else than persons with strongly defined characters. We feel this assertion to be not quite conclusive, like Hoffmann's opinion that the secret of the schizoid types is exclusively "an antinomical character structure with a strong contrast tension of the antithetical anlagen in a very definite form."[31]

If we now consider the question of the schizoid from the point of view of the ego-attitude, this does not mean that we would like to identify the psychopathic ego-types with the schizoid types. We assume merely that there is a close relationship between the two autistic psychopathic types, the ego-searchers and the ambitendents on the one side and the so-called schizoid types on the other; a more distant relationship may exist between the so-called schizoid and the egocentric types.[32] Perhaps it would be clearer to say that the so-called schizoids are from the point of view of character actively or passively autistic, ego-searching, or ambitendent, more rarely egocentric. These characterologically psychopathic types have a certain negative affinity or correlation with the dysthymics characterized by mood, among whom the so-called cycloids belong. Little as we consider it feasible to identify[33] the dysthymics characterized by mood (euphoric, irritable, gloomy, poikilothymic) with the cycloids, it appears to be as difficult to identify the character psychopaths

[31] Hoffmann in no sense reserves the antinomies for the schizoids but instead insists that there are also non-schizoid antinomies.

[32] It is worthy of remark that Gruhle, whose attitude toward the schizoid in general is one of rejection, has demonstrated in his investigation of the premorbid condition of schizophrenics a certain predominance of personalities inimical toward the environment.

[33] Cf. the remarks concerning clinical relationships, p. 235.

just mentioned with the schizoids.[34] Cycloid and schizoid are and ought to remain clinico-genealogical concepts. They come from the manic depressive and schizophrenic cycle; there is no reason for veiling their origin and so making them into "accordion concepts." Psychopaths with mood anomalies we relate to the manic depressive cycle or even to the pyknic-cycloid constitution, when bodily, clinical, and hereditary features permit. Analogously one should deal with the schizoid; thus with reference to all previous discussion, especially that concerning the physique of schizoid psychopathic types, we define: *by schizoid psychopaths are understood dystonic psychopathic personalities of actively or passively autistic, or ego-searching, or ambitendent, more rarely of egocentric character, in genetic relation with schizophrenia, with a constitutional predisposition toward schizoid reactions*[35] *and toward schizophrenic disease*[36] *and with a negative affinity for the pyknic physique.*[37]

[34] Here we may mention a remark made not without justification by Wildermuth: "The custom has more or less developed of ranking sympathetic persons in the cycloid and the unsympathetic in the schizoid group."

[35] By schizoid reactions I understand psychic reactions to any stimuli which in their structure show external and, as I believe, internal kinship with the schizophrenic syndrome.

[36] In this place it is not permitted to trace the path from the character attitudes to the psychotic behavior and transformations of schizophrenic autism and negativism.

[37] It must be admitted even by the most unprejudiced that in schizophrenic families schizoid personalities are rather numerous, and that schizoid make-up in the premorbid period of the later schizophrenic patients is more frequent than is the non-schizoid make-up, that furthermore in the premorbid and psychopathic schizoid, as in the schizophrenic, the non-pyknic physique—especially the leptosomic or athenic—is in the majority. These circumstances point to a biological affinity or constitutional predisposition of the

From this definition there is evident a far-reaching agreement with Kretschmer's intuition and empiricism. Apparently this definition does justice to the necessity repeatedly stressed by Kretschmer for further differentiation of the so-called schizoid types. The more narrowly the clinico-genealogical concept of "schizoid" would be conceived the more the attempt to differentiate would become blocked. Our discussion and our definition give a clear answer in the affirmative to the question we raised as to whether it is expedient to apply the term schizoid[38] to the types in question either as a whole or in part; it is evident furthermore that not every psychopathic personality tainted with schizophrenia may be termed schizoid.

The schizoid psychopathic types[39] are total manifestations of complex structure, consideration of which from the point of view of structural analysis leads not to schizoid individual qualities but to attitudes and

leptosome and schizoid to schizophrenic disease. On this basis however the whole problem of schizophrenia cannot be solved. That the schizoid determines a large share of the pathoplastic in the schizophrenic disease process I have repeatedly noted earlier. With all these remarks and suggestions it cannot be asserted that everything that appears schizoid and schizophrenic is actually schizoid and schizophrenic. Just this exaggeration should be combated in the attempted elaboration of fundamental attitudes which are present *also* but certainly not exclusively in the schizoid.

[38] A reminder may be in order here that personalities of "schizoid" peculiarity occur also in families tainted with Huntington's disease (Wilmanns).

[39] The schizoid psychopaths are *qualitatively* different from the schizophrenic psychotics. Certainly conditions of slight schizophrenic defect will occasionally not be differentiable from schizoid psychopathies. Nevertheless I am of the opinion that it would be shooting beyond the mark to consider all schizoid "phaenotypes" as conditions of schizophrenic defect, or abortive schizophrenias. I must here avoid a more detailed discussion of differential diagnosis.

qualities the range of which is not limited to the schizoid. There are in the total structure of the schizoid types, behind or beneath the particular ego-attitudes primarily such temperamental (non-cycloid!) qualities which stand to those ego-attitudes in definite causal relationships which we have discussed. The schizoid peculiarity of the types is however frequently blotted out and covered over by the influx of "cycloid" temperamental factors through which the strong emphasis of the ego-attitude may undergo a certain displacement toward the environmental attitude. These are the allegations in Kretschmer's sense. One may say that all dystonic psychopathic types occur *also* among the schizoids, but one may not say conversely that all dystonic psychopaths are schizoid psychopaths. It is uncertain whether later we shall be able to conceive the schizoid psychopathic types more clearly and to exclude from the concept of schizoid psychopathy some dystonic psychopathic types, in spite of their affiliation with schizophrenic families.

I avoid here depiction of individual schizoid personalities. These will be presented in another connection. Then after the structural-analytical consideration of the individual case it will be possible that with reference to the remarks concerning the problem of the schizoid, the clinico-genealogical diagnosis[40] "schizoid psychopathy" can be made here. I should like to show that we are dealing here with a "diagnosis" which is just as little able to do justice to the total personality as the labels "schizophrenia" or "manic depressive insanity." Thus the unfolding of the problem of schizoid

[40] Perhaps it would be more exact to say psychopathological-genealogical diagnosis.

psychopathy leads by many bypaths to a legitimization of the point of view of structural analysis as applied to psychopathic personalities.

3. *The Cold Autists*[41]

The constituents of this group are from the points of view of structural analytic consideration in temperament athymic, in character autistic types, which from the impulse side are designated either by strength of impulse or weakness of impulse. Expressed otherwise: the cold autists are on the impulse side *weak in impulse or strong in impulse,* on the *temperament* side *dull or poor in affect, or affectless;* their *character superstructure is actively or passively autistic.* Thus they are at once separable into two subgroups:

1. The weak in impulse, passive cold autists.
2. The strong in impulse, active cold autists.

The totality of the active cold autists corresponds to Kraepelin's antisocial psychopaths, to Kurt Schneider's affectless, to the so-called morally insane, that is, the personalities "whose predisposition brings them from the outset into a decided opposition to the demands of community life" (Kraepelin). They are distinguished by their affective (Schneider), or moral (Kraepelin) torpidity; H. W. Maier has spoken of "deficient affective emphasis of moral concepts." With

[41] We employ here the expression "cold autist" in contradistinction to the active and passive autistic types considered from the point of view of character only. In juxtaposition of the term cold pertaining to temperament and autist pertaining to character, the complexity of the personality in question should be expressed. The impulsive peculiarity will then appear in the discussion and naming of the two subgroups.

Schneider we do not consider intellectual defects to be at all characteristic, even though granting that there are to be found among them high-grade morons and morons, and that on the other hand many imbeciles are affectively torpid. It is indisputable that individual cold autists are highly gifted, and in rare cases even geniuses. The affective torpidity, or "moral color-blindness" has primarily nothing to do with intelligence. Many of these persons are capable of giving a perfect intellectual judgment even concerning ethical concepts. For this reason it is wrong, as Schneider emphasizes, to speak of moral feeble-mindedness: "At the most it would be possible to term morally feeble-minded a person who is incapable of moral judgment" (Schneider). This is not the case with these types. They *know* as a rule "what right and wrong is" but they do not *feel* it. Many have on this account a clear intellectual insight and may even display a certain regret that they lack entirely or almost entirely moral and social feeling and affective warmth. But it would be inconclusive to consider the cold autists on the basis of such infrequent observations as discouraged persons who develop a will to power merely on the basis of a feeling of inferiority.

The source of the affective and moral torpidity is to be sought in the temperament. The cold autists are either torpid or poor in affect, or affectless. This predisposition makes it originally impossible for them to acquire and to cultivate contact with their environment. They are indifferent toward fellow men. Connected with this is the shamelessness and remorselessness of such autists. To this temperamental basis the character is directly superstructured: the *active autistic character, in persons strong in impulse; and the passive autistic character in those who are less strong in impulse,* espe-

cially in the *cold autists weak in impulse;* in the latter active autistic elements are found occasionally. The active cold autists are relatively uncomplicated in their personality structure, nevertheless one finds now and then among them an "asthenic Achilles' heel" in the form of sensitive features. In the passive cold autists there appear many complications in the form of ambitendent attitudes with overcompensatory formations, due to the frequently present inclusion of active autistic elements. In such cases the Adlerian mechanisms may play a certain rôle but scarcely ever the determinative one.[42]

A. PASSIVE COLD AUTISTS WEAK IN IMPULSE

Characteristic of this type, in addition to their affective torpidity and poverty which often occur side by side, is a lack of psychic activity deriving from temperamental predisposition and impulsive weakness. They are dull and cold, the same words apply to them which Kraepelin wrote concerning his antisocials: "Even when they comprehend fairly well they are nevertheless as a rule intellectually very little active, lazy in thinking, and have no earnest endeavor and no far-reaching interests." As a result of their dulness they incline to passive asociality and contribute an important contingent to the ranks of the habitual criminal. It depends frequently only on outer circumstances whether they remain in the realm of social parasitism and petty crime or whether they go over into habitual felony, from which then they rarely find a way out. It suits them particularly well to live without working

[42] For these and for the other complex psychopathic types, attention is to be called, with reference to personality structure, to the special remarks concerning dysthymic and especially the athymic and dysphoric types.

(idlers, beggars, and tramps). They are often pleasure-seeking (Kraepelin) although the pleasures sought by them are usually poor. Intellectual pleasures are almost completely strange to them. Such psychopaths very frequently find their way to chronic alcoholism and represent the type of *torpid brutal drunkard,* who is cowardly out of weakness of impulse, and tending to jealousy, who maltreats his wife and attempts to treat brutally those who are actually or supposedly weaker than himself. To be sure one may occasionally understand the tendency to drink in these persons as an overcompensation, and to imagine that such impulsively weak and stupid drunkards drink themselves into a feeling of power which is denied them in the sober state, and just on this account seems particularly desirable. We may suggest that much cruelty to animals and crude behavior has a similar origin.

These dull, cold personalities, when left to themselves, can be entirely or comparatively harmless, thanks to their indifference and inactivity. If, however, they are once charged, whether by alcohol or some particular situation, their brutality may be discharged in the most cruel manner. As participants in crime, as followers in revolutions, in the "blood craze," they may belong among the most dangerous of criminals who, once loosed, can rarely be checked. Cruel sexual crimes also are committed by this type of psychopath; although they are themselves weak in impulse they can develop, especially when intoxicated, a ruthless animal passion. Sexual avidity and strength of impulse do not bear an entirely simple relationship to each other.

Individual cold torpid personalities are, in spite of their impulsive weakness, permanently lascivious and like to satisfy their lasciviousness through sexual surrogate behavior with children. I believe that zoöphilic

behavior is principally indulged in by adherents of this group who, as a matter of fact, very often may be feeble-minded in addition.

The attitude of *defiance*[43] is not rare among cold torpid personalities. They say no, refuse, draw back in situations in which it would really be to their interest to coöperate. Occasionally one meets in them definitely *negativistic behavior:* they do exactly the opposite of that which is demanded from them as though to demonstrate how strong they are and how completely free they are to do what they like. Sometimes it suffices them to have made an impression on their terrified surroundings by their attitude or negativistic defiance; then afterward, often too late, they may accede with majestic condescension to what is desired. Not a few *tyrants* of the home, with whom everything must go according to their command, who deny the smallest wishes of their wives and children, who can get into a fury because the soup comes a moment late to the table, or because the butter knife is not in the usual spot, are nothing but torpid, cold psychopaths with an inclusion of excitability or irritability.[44] They belong to the far-famed "best of men" as long as one has nothing to do or nothing to share with them. They are without any feeling for the needs, especially for the affective needs, of their immediate and less immediate environment. They are, however, ready to collapse in helpless sentimental blubber if a stronger person ever happens to compel them or even if they fear that their beloved ego may be placed in danger. Personalities of

[43] To these types but not for this type alone Isemann's remark applies that the defiance may be the pace-maker for criminality.

[44] It is possible that "conditions of urge" may play a certain rôle here, which might be explained on the basis of the weakness and lack of differentiation of the impulse life in these persons.

this type Kretschmer has described among his schizoids.

It is obvious that many of these cold torpid persons are not only *insecure* which is evident in the tendency to overcompensation already mentioned, but also that they have *sensitive* traits as a result of which they now and then suffer from themselves and especially from their environment. Among them it is possible to find personalities of affective poverty, which carry about with them an isolated bit of affective warmth, and are able to bestow this on particular persons (a woman, a child,[45] a friend, a master), now and then on animals or things and places (joy in possession, feeling for home) and so display at least a *partial capacity for contact.* I will review in brief a case which belongs here:

Therese Am., born 1894, tainted with schizophrenia, psychopathy, and feeble-mindedness.[46] Single, shopgirl.

In youth mendacious and lazy, she stole early at the instigation of her mother. She grew up in a neglected *milieu* and was transitorily in a reformatory. She appeared as a professional pickpocket in various larger German cities. She was repeatedly punished and frequently released because of irresponsibility. She was weak in impulse, with Lesbian tendencies, and inclination for obscenity, affectively poor and markedly inimical toward society. She showed a great dependence on her family. She was coquettish, cunning, sly, and excitable. She was small and frailly built.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic.

Impulsive life: weak in impulse with homosexual inclusion.

Temperament: excitable, poor in affect.

[45] There frequently occurs in torpid cold autists a complete strangeness and indifference to their own children which is particularly marked in women (misopedia).

[46] The case was published with a genealogical table in my work *Schizoid und Schizophrenia im Erbgang,* pp. 36–37.

Character: predominantly passive autistic.
Social: antisocial, habitual criminal.
Clinico-genealogical diagnosis: schizoid psychopath.

A somewhat different variety of the cold autistic type with weakness in impulse is the following:

Erna G., 35 years old. She has always been excitable and impatient, and being a "problem person" always brooded and never had any joy in life. Strikingly tall, muscular, strong-boned, with a slight beard, in brief with a marked masculine element, she has in former time done much in sports, completed her studies in the university but married before setting out in the practice of her profession. She was frequently, especially during her two pregnancies, troubled by fear of luetic infection; her father was a tabetic. She was impulsively weak and unsure, and made life very hard for her husband. She suffered under the somewhat limited economic circumstances and missed intellectual activity. She was seen in the clinic after an attempt at suicide. She represented herself consciously as masculine, stressed the intellectual (overcompensation), was hard and cold in her judgment. Affectively she was markedly cold, having no inner relationship to her children, and speaking of them without love (misopedia). As far as character was concerned she was predominantly a passive autist although egocentric and ambitendent elements were present.

Structural analysis:
Physique: intersexual.
Impulsive life: impulsively weak and unsure.
Temperament: excitable, poor in affect, with phobic features.
Character: predominantly passive autistic.

Puberty and organ inferiority participate in the following case of a cold autist weak in impulse:

The 20-year-old tradesman Dietrich Ro. was the son of an energetic, nervous and irritable father, and of an excitable, ir-

ritable, cool, "hysterical" mother who was depressive during the climacteric. His sister had attempted suicide for a trivial reason. He was a weak child, suffered from nervous asthma, was pampered and almost constantly sickly (feeding problems). He was markedly asthenic; he had an asymmetric thorax, with a projecting right shoulder. His face was small and asymmetric; he was myopic. Ro. bit his nails. In high school he failed to pass his examinations. He was always lazy and quickly lost interest. From the time of puberty he was fickle, superficial, licentious, mendacious, and pleasure-seeking. He became a tradesman, loafed about, was indifferent, blasé, robbed his father, travelled, and when he had no money left attempted suicide. In the clinic he was lazy, flat, vain, overbearing, cold and affectless, defiant. He said that he lived always for himself and that nothing gave him any stimulus and interest. He had a strong inclination for the feminine sex but for purposes of entertainment only. For sexual intercourse he had no demand and in it he found no pleasure. He thought everyone was looking at his crooked shoulder.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic, marked organ inferiority.
Impulsive life: impulsively weak, prolonged puberty.
Temperament: cool with element of sensitiveness.
Character: passive autistic with ambitendency; marked organ inferiority complex.

B. ACTIVE COLD AUTISTS STRONG IN IMPULSE

With the type just described a certain activity is occasionally the reverse side of the picture. The active cold autists are *all active;* only very exceptionally are *passive* (*asthenic*) *elements* and *sensitive features* to be found in them. Whereas the former, from the point of view of society, are with few exceptions injurers and disturbers or at least have this effect, there are undoubtedly to be found among the active cold autists personalities who, in so far as their affectivity does not take antisocial effect, are of value to the community,

although even under these circumstances their immediate and less immediate environment usually may suffer from them.

These types are *predominantly impulsively strong persons of affective poverty, or affectless persons of an unmistakable active autistic attitude of character.* They are in general of a considerable agility and mobility, occasionally they are genuine tachythymics. Very rarely there occurs also among them an "ice-cold hypomanic," that is, an active autistic euphoric. Their activity and mobility on the one hand, their affective coldness or lack of affect on the other, determine for them their characteristic position with regard to the environment which has been pictured in detail in the discussion of the active autistic dystonics. It was explained there that the active autist lives at war with his environment. This attitude characterizes the active enmity toward society as a result of which the greater number of these persons bear a criminal stamp: they are then so far as their criminality is manifest the "*picked troops of professional criminals*" (Heindl). There are furthermore the *ruthless natures* who "walk over dead bodies" for the sake of their own advantage, that is, in pursuance of their entirely autistic goals; there are again *unyielding, tyrannical personalities* who live more frequently in smaller circles undeviatingly according to their own laws and subject their environment to themselves; less frequently as genuine dominating leaders (Cesare Borgia), unburdened by affective experience and undiverted by the affective needs of others, striving toward goals which may be of significance for the community. Nevertheless there also occur occasionally in such geniuses heterogeneous temperamental elements particularly of the sensitive variety which make possible for them an understanding

of others and so an often remarkable skill in the psychological appraisal and management of the personalities and masses under their leadership. In such leaders it is possible to find also elements of certain cool humor, i.e., inclusions of the euphoric temperament.

Furthermore, aside from the fact that not every leading personality is a real leader, it is impossible to assert that all pioneers and great leaders are actively cold autists. It is scarcely possible however to overlook the fact that persons with marked qualifications for leadership are neither too gentle nor too warm hearted, but on the contrary display at least very definite traits of affective hardness and coolness. If a higher goal is to be attained, courage must be present also in order to step over smaller goals and over those who strive toward the smaller goals. In this courage, however, there must be not only activity but also a certain pitilessness.

This courage with its active pitilessness is to be found also prominently in professional criminals, among the *antisocial,* or *enemies of society* in the strict sense, which also have been called the moral insane: i.e., among the professional property and capital criminals of great style who fight a lifelong battle against society, who do not adjust to the demands of society because of a temperamentally conditioned incapacity and often pursue their dark ways with much skill and cunning. That they are frequently not particularly intelligent has been often emphasized. Heindl called attention to the fact that many professional criminals are specialists[47] and that not infrequently the manner of perpetration of a serious crime betrays to experienced criminologists the "hand-writing" of

[47] Kraepelin in regard to his "enemies of society" also speaks of "criminal specialities."

the perpetrator; this author deduces correctly from this fact a certain intellectual indolence in many of these criminal specialists.

The professional criminal under discussion corresponds well to the active affectless personality of Gaupp. They represent the *true type of criminal person,* of the "delinquent nato," to be sure in a somewhat different sense from that of the Lombrosian teaching which believed it had discovered in the born criminal an atavistic, physically stigmatized aberration of mankind.

A brief digression is called for here. That the criminal person is not identical with the lawbreaker needs no proof. Many lawbreakers show in their development and susceptibility to good and evil influence a clear, deep-reaching dependence on *milieu.* They are characterized not so much through a peculiar quality of the personality as through their illegal actions which, to be sure, are not perpetrated independently from the type of the personality. Conversely, the criminal person in the true sense stands beyond all environmental influence and is characterized by his "criminal conviction," that is, his cold active autism, even when his behavior is not contrary to the legal norm of society; his characteristic conviction becomes often enough evident even when he outwardly lives entirely socially, when he limits himself to a plaguing of his fellow men or to the practice of doubtful transactions, which legally are not impeachable ("criminaloid," v. Hentig). Here it may also be remarked that an action may be criminal even when it is not threatened with punishment by law.

There are many wretched offshoots of this type of criminal person—*saboteurs,* tormentors of animals, slave drivers—who may belong in the main to the ac-

tive cold autists but also in part extend over into the torpid autists.

For the prognosis of the cold active autists there must be mentioned also their usually striking *uneducability* which is based in the lack of all affective resonance; they are entirely impervious to arguments founded on reason.

It is impossible to speak of a socialization of a professional criminal.[48] Since, however, the activity of these personalities is rooted in their impulsive strength even a decrease of their criminal energy is now and then to be observed with the physiological regression of their impulse-life without, however, any alteration in the typical basic attitude of the personality. There are also professional criminals who after decades of imprisonment are no less criminal. It is true, one cannot escape the fact that social factors are at work and the increased enmity against society understandably resulting from many defeats.

Examples

A common laborer, Joseph Apf., came under clinical observation at the age of 17. His father was hot-tempered and rough, having during his first marriage once shot at his child. His mother was overindulgent. His bringing up left much to be desired. Apf. was an enuretic until his 12th year; his ethical dullness became evident even in school. Although he was of average intelligence he showed a complete lack of interest and of effort; he was lazy and indifferent to praise and blame. He was mendacious and without endurance; he changed his place of work frequently and was often out of work. For the satisfaction of his desires, especially of his fondness for dainties he stole from his mother. He was interested in movies, criminal

[48] Kronfeld has published the case of a *"habitual* criminal who became again social," an essentially hysterical-phantastic personality.

histories and weapons. He had a strong "urge" to independence. He intended to become a movie actor and played with the thought of getting rid of his father who disapproved of this project. One evening when he was called to task by his mother because he was out of work and had gone to a movie he shot her down after having suppered with her. A few hours later he sat and drank beer with his father who had just come home, and then wounded him by shooting and then stabbed him. For three weeks he kept house with the corpses in his parents' home, loafed and used up the money that he found and that he borrowed. Under observation he was periodically somewhat embarrassed but on the whole he was indifferent. Only with regard to the mother a sort of remorse seemed at one time to spring up. There were observed transitory psychogenic sobs and inhibitions, hysterical attacks and attempts of repression. On the occasion of an accusation of theft he got into an angry excitement. Physically he showed nothing striking except for a somewhat plump face. Furthermore, the report from the prison in which Apf. had been for 8 years (he is now 25) described him as an indifferent and affectively torpid person, not without excitability, and inclining to overestimate himself: "Apparently however, he feels little or no remorse concerning his crime."

Structural analysis:

Physique: plump face (dysplastic element).
Impulse life: impulsively strong pubescent.
Temperament: affectless, element of excitability.
Character: active autistic.
Social: criminal type (enemy of society).

The 30-year-old farmer woman Anna Schwa. was the daughter of a serious-minded reserved father and a schizophrenic mother. An uncle on the mother's side was also schizophrenic. Her only sister was despondent and asocial. Schwa. was of leptosomic physique; intellectually moderately gifted; she was always affectively cold, hard-hearted, defiant and stubborn, unscrupulous, hypocritical and sanctimonious, and in addition vain and easily injured. Sexually she showed herself very

early to be desiring. Married at a relatively early age, she tyrannized her husband who she pretended treated her badly, and failed to satisfy her sexually. She entered into a liaison with a young man and induced him to shoot her husband whom she drove before the lad's gun like game. During the trial she showed puerile and pseudo-demented behavior.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomatic.
Impulse life: impulsively strong.
Temperament: affectively cold with an element of sensitivity.
Character: predominantly active autistic.
Clinico-genealogical diagnosis: schizoid psychopath.

4. *The Anancastic Psychopaths*[49]

All *compulsive formations* have, according to Kronfeld, this in common that *in the moment of their appearance they are experienced "as not belonging to the own ego."* "The ego does not affirm them, it does not agree to them; it defends itself against them. This defence is experienced and whether or not it is successful is experienced as an impotent one." Kronfeld clearly explains that the other criteria of compulsive processes are either inexact or insufficient, that is, they comprehend only groups of compulsive phenomena. In the presence of rational criticism particularly he finds no true criterion of the compulsive manifestation. Even its domination in the content of consciousness is not decisive in itself for psychic compulsion, but rather the type of domination which is not willed by the ego. The

[49] I have taken over the term "anancastic" from Kurt Schneider and Donath, because it recommends itself on account of its convenience and the possibility of its employment as an adjective. I also use, however, the expression "compulsive psychopaths." I use the terms "compulsive neurotics" and "compulsion neuroses" only exceptionally, having explained my comprehension of the concept of "neurosis" on p. 277.

persistent criticism, the domination, and finally the "insufficient emphasis of affect" which accompany compulsive manifestations when they force themselves into consciousness, Kronfeld regards as secondary phenomena which may be derived from "the experience of being compelled."

In this connection we may avoid an enumeration and description of the numerous forms of psychic compulsive phenomena; Friedmann, Kraepelin, Löwenfeld, and finally Kronfeld have given exhaustive groupings and presentations of these manifestations in detail. The question before us is how far it is possible to distinguish psychopathic compulsive personalities, i.e., anancastic psychopaths. This question will formulate itself for us as follows: Do certain psychopathic types carry in their *causal structure* a characteristic predisposition favoring compulsive manifestations, and are there in the *character direction* of such personalities typical forms of the final adaptation of the compulsive phenomena to the total personality?

It is to be anticipated that psychic compulsion on the one hand reaches in a gradual transition into the psychic norm. Lange especially has recently called attention to this fact.[50] He is in accord with Kronfeld's conception of the experiential criterion of the compulsive when he writes: "It is the experience of compulsion, known at least in suggestion to every healthy person, the feeling of being overwhelmed against one's will and better knowledge, by images,[51] thoughts, and thought tendencies which usually obey our will, that distinguish the compulsive processes from all other

[50] Kraepelin has called attention to the occurrence of compulsive phenomena in the healthy child, and to "corresponding observations in primitive peoples."

[51] *Vorstellungen.*

occurrences.'' In fatigue, in unpleasant remembrance, in the experience of doubt, in the feeling of anxious uncertainty, especially in the feeling of anxious uncertainty with reference to a responsibility which has been accepted or is about to be accepted, particular contents force themselves again and again upon us with a more or less clearly compulsive character.[52] It is, in brief, *an uncertainty of the ego with regard to an existent or expected situation, an uncertainty arising or having arisen from biological or psychological causes,* which permits compulsive manifestations[53] to spring up

[52] Here are to be mentioned personalities which are concerned with being exaggeratedly clean and particular (pedantic), continually washing themselves, and performing every job in the most conscientious manner (notebook-men); checking up every detail (reading corrections), and still believing that they have not done justice to cleanliness and exactness. In part they may represent offshoots from the range of health, in part they are masked but in part also, on closer observation, manifest anancastic psychopaths. Perhaps the so-called perseveratoric type of psychopath described by Schultz also belongs here. We will explain, that the exactness of the anancastic is associated with his insecurity. It is a matter of experience that the anancastic exactness is frequently manifested in orderliness and pedantry, in parsimony and avarice. Similarly it is known that anancastic pedantry is frequently bound up with the functions of the digestive system. These two facts have been brought into close correlation by the Freudian School. The psychoanalysts speak of the anal character of the compulsion neurotic which is said to be characterized by avarice, orderliness, pedantry, distrust, and defiance. I am far from denying such relationships yet I must deny that it is possible thus to center the problem of compulsions completely in the anal zone. In spite of the infantile features in his psycho-sexuality not every compulsive psychopath is in my opinion "anal erotic," and not every "anal erotic complex" can be traced in the direction of a compulsive manifestation.

[53] Compulsive manifestations not infrequently become more noticeable during menstruation. Exacerbations are observed also in the climacterium.

within us. The conscious or unconscious attitude of being unable to cope with a situation opens the way for these manifestations.

Although the present concern is simply with psychic compulsive manifestations it is not to be forgotten that there is an unbroken transition from psychic compulsion to the organically conditioned manifestations which are experienced by the ego as compulsion. As the organic compulsion reaches from below up into the "dynamics" of the personality and through it attains a varying representation in experience, psychic compulsion similarly is not restricted to the upper layers of the personality but it is in close genetic relationships to the "dynamic stratum lying close to the body"[54] (Bürger), that is, in our sense, to the impulse stratum. These reflections suggest that causal factors of compulsion in anancastic psychopaths are to be sought in the impulse stratum; which is indeed the case. There come into consideration: weakness in impulse, insecurity in impulse, and—in cases of relative or absolute strength of impulse—the more or less sharply defined rejection of *impulsive demands* by the personality (impulse denial, Freud). *Impulsive peculiarity*[55] in itself, however, merely opens the door to the activity or persistence of compulsive formations once they have arisen. The causal basis is prepared for compulsive formations through the coöperation of impulsive peculiarity with certain temperamental factors.

[54] *Leibnahe dynamische Schicht.*

[55] It is not necessary here to refer again to the physical basis. It should be remarked merely that the asthenic physique is frequent among the anancastic and that general nervous manifestations result from it. On this basis a remark of Bumke's may appear justified: "The majority of compulsive patients are a special type of constitutional nervousness."

These *temperamental factors* are dysphoric (anxious,[56] sad, ill-humored dysphorics) and sensitive ones. One may say that without the existence of dysphoric-sensitive temperamental elements[57] compulsive formations reaching beyond the range of health do not become active or persistent.[58] Neither the impulse condition nor the temperamental make-up remains constantly the same, or, more generally speaking, they may not be either positive or negative from start to finish, in any

[56] The significance of anxiety for the origin of the compulsive manifestation has been particularly stressed by Kraepelin. He related symptomatic compulsive manifestations in circular, schizophrenic, and hysterical persons to anxiety deriving from affective disturbances; in the "compulsive neurosis" he regarded anxiety "as a permanent personal quality." Kraepelin thought that this anxiety impaired the development of the will and that as a result the compulsive psychopath was most inclined to evasion and compliance even in the matter of his own anxiety. In the self-defense which becomes "more and more the life task of these personalities" Kraepelin found the basis for the "persistency of the disease manifestations" and "their close relationships to the impulse of self-preservation." Kraepelin saw furthermore in the "compulsion neurosis" "a circumscribed inhibition of development," an "infantilism of character which conditioned the very anxious insecurity with regard to the influences of life."

[57] The anxious-depressive factors chiefly give the foundation for a search for guilt. The sensitive insecurity conditions the marked affinity for the actually or supposedly guilty experiences of "mortifying insufficiency" (Kretschmer). From the experience of being guilty develops a tendency to self-punishment but also the rebellion against guilt and punishment. Here the roots of ambitendency become evident which are to be discussed later.

[58] Experiences themselves participate in the determination of the content of anancastic symptoms. Kurt Schneider remarks: "The determination of symptoms by experiences and strivings is not always clear but may always be present." It may be emphasized that in the presence of a compulsive predisposition, the experience of organ inferiority can play an important rôle in the appearance and persistence of compulsive manifestations.

psychopathic personality. Thus it also becomes comprehensible in the causal aspect that not all psychopaths with anancastic manifestations show compulsive phenomena from early childhood to extreme old age. It is evident furthermore that especially certain states of impulse tension, or states charged with impulse conflict, in combination with dysphoric make-up may give rise to compulsive manifestations of longer or shorter duration. There is no doubt that in the presence of the appropriate readiness in impulse and temperament, particular experiences, not last those of erotic and sexual nature, occasionally may act as the proximate cause.

In addition, however, there still remains the final exploitation of psychic compulsion by psychopathic personalities. Upon the causal basis of the types here concerned there is superimposed, either permanently or for a longer or shorter time, the character direction of a considerable *ego-weakness with ego-inclination, of insecurity with a tendency to self-depreciation and the tendency to overcompensatory formations* (egocentricity, enhancement of self-valuation, depreciation of the foreign). Here then are to be found *ambitendent* (antinomic, Hoffmann) types of a very peculiar stamp.

No error will be made by seeking the final significance of compulsion for the compulsive personality (and with a grain of salt, for all personalities which have occasional compulsive manifestations) in two directions: in the first place in the underlying *tendency to self-torture,*[59] to self-punishment as the working out

[59] The fact is scarcely to be escaped that the tendency to self-torture bears directly or indirectly a fundamental relationship to psychosexuality, to masochism. On the other hand the relationship to sadism is unmistakable in the compulsive contents which work toward the injury of others.

of self-depreciation (ambitendents, passive autists, ego-searchers), and then in the overcompensatory evaluation (ambitendent egocentric elements). On the basis of impulsive and temperamental peculiarities the compulsion crops up which the personality to a certain degree welcomes from the angle of its character attitude: I am destined to suffer, I will suffer, and I must suffer (delight in suffering); that is just the right thing; through my suffering I raise myself above the others who do not suffer and so have some sort of demand on their appreciation and on their consideration (gain of prestige).[60] Hoffmann rendered a peculiar service in that he called attention to the extreme *antinomical splitting*[61] of the compulsive psychopaths and to the remarkable manifestation which one might perhaps call their *love of compulsion.*[62] These types in their compulsion pay a tribute to a higher power, to the Deity, to destiny,[63] "their sense of responsibility toward men is less than their 'sense of duty' to the power of destiny" (Hoffmann). One could well say from the point of

[60] The conceptions of the school of individual psychology are to a certain degree related but I believe them to be firmly and one-sidedly restricted to the point of view that compulsion is merely a "pattern."

[61] *Antinomische Zwiespaeltigkeit.*

[62] I cite from Hoffmann two remarks made by compulsive psychopaths: "Compulsion is the spice of life." "It is only in compulsive things that one really lives. Is it possible that others are ever content without them?"

[63] The foreignness of the compulsion to the ego, the feeling of being overpowered by the compulsion represent from this point of view the foreign, i.e., the higher power, which is not infrequently described by religious anancasts as the devil himself, or as devilish. The battle, the defense against this power, may be enjoyed with much pleasure. It may need no further explanation that the foreignness to the ego is merely an "experiential criterion," and that the compulsion itself belongs to the personality out of whose causal layers it springs.

view of finality that as a result of their ego-weakness these personalities consistently transfer responsibility to the higher power by whom they feel themselves to have been slighted in comparison to others (feeling of inferiority); thus they establish between themselves and the higher power a particularly intimate relationship (overcompensation)[64] and so purchase freedom from their obligations to the environment.

On the basis of this conception of the compulsive psychopath, of the "primary compulsive neurotic"[65] which, as already mentioned, can be applied to all psychopathological compulsive manifestations, there can be erected no single unified type of psychopathic anancastic. It is only possible to reduce compulsive psychopaths to the *common denominator of insecurity,*[66] a fact which K. Schneider has especially emphasized. This insecurity, however, may have a varied substructure in impulse and temperament, and will generally express itself finally in the sense of ambitendency, this however with a varying accentuation of egocentric, passive autistic, and ego-seeking elements.

One may object that the personality structure as subsumed here for the anancastic psychopath is to be found also in psychopathic personalities who develop only fleeting compulsive phenomena or none at all. In answer it may be said from the side of causal genesis that in compulsion *hereditary factors* play a prominent

[64] Even when they believe themselves punished by a higher power they continue to punish themselves, accomplishing thus a more or less extensive identification of their ego with the higher power (overcompensation and depreciation of the foreign).

[65] *Der originaere Zwangsneurotiker.*

[66] Compulsive acts are really crutches, one of many expedients by which persons with an overemphasized sense of insecurity try to support their limited ego.

rôle (Kraepelin, Meggendorfer, Hoffmann, Kehrer). From the final point of view one must imagine that *the personality develops compulsion to such an extent and duration as is needed for its total system of purposes.* From this circumstance it is possible to derive an understanding of the fact that compulsion does not entirely dominate all anancasts, but that instead in many of them there exist so to speak "encapsuled compulsions" as a sort of *isolated pseudotely*[67] by which the personality may be little or not at all impaired in the fulfilment of its obligations to the community. In such personalities the endowment with *sthenic components* is of significance. In anancasts differently endowed it is the *lack of sthenic components* which sinks them into the compulsion so that the compulsion ultimately becomes almost the only content of their lives[68] (Kraepelin). However, it would not be possible to explain the stubborn persistence of anancasts in their compulsion without some sthenia. This applies especially to such cases in which a systematic progressive development of the compulsion has occurred[69] (case of Jahrreiss).

It is necessary to return again to the impulsive basis of compulsive manifestations. Their connection with sexuality was remarked even before the days of Freud (v. Krafft-Ebing). We are not of the opinion that repressed sexual wishes are pathogenetically determinative or partially determinative of every compulsive manifestation as Freud asserts. We consider however that there exists *in many cases a direct relationship of*

[67] Cf. p. 277.

[68] Many passive autistic anancasts reach a high degree of ego-isolation. This may give a clue for the understanding of the frequent appearance of compulsive manifestation in schizophrenics.

[69] Cf. the chapter concerning psychopathic courses, pp. 484–485.

the compulsive manifestations to sexuality at least from the pathoplastic point of view, and in no sense question the particular significance of *processes of repression* and *symbolization* in this realm.[70] In these processes we see a clear expression of ego-weakness as a result of which the personality evades the reality of the environment and turns in an exaggerated degree to its ego. Nevertheless, it seems to us to be essential that *not the sexual impulse alone but rather the total impulse-life* is involved in the causal foundation of compulsion.[71] The significance of the *impulse to self-preservation* which is manifested in that the anancastic is permanently on the defensive, was, as has been mentioned, just noted by Kraepelin. To the impulse to self-development there are relationships which may be perhaps of a more negative or more inhibitory sort. Behind the defenses, i.e., behind the stubborn persistence of the anancastic in his compulsion, behind his infantile particularity, there is concealed something like a resistance to the further development and to the future independence of his personality. The compulsive psychopath, to a certain extent, wishes at any price to remain small and childlike; this of course becomes manifest in the final behavior. He wishes to remain a child of God, or a child of the "higher power"[72]

[70] This may perhaps correspond to Jung's concept of *libido.*

[71] The compulsions of some anancasts have immediately sexual contents: one patient is compelled to think constantly of the penis, another to look at "the unclean portions," etc. In others the sexual is symbolized in the content (fear of dirt, compulsion to wash, and so on).

[72] The existence of relationships between anancastic manifestations and religion or religiosity is not to be doubted. These relationships are not restricted to the outer form, the ritual behavior, the rites and ceremonial of many anancasts respecting their compulsion, but also concern the essence of the attitude to the higher power

which he worships and fears superstitiously. On the basis of this total attitude the great significance of the *sex impulse* for the anancast as well as for the form and content of the compulsion becomes understandable. In an ambitendent manner the experiences of sexuality come to be desired and longed for and at the same time rejected and abhorred,[73] now and then with an intensive strength of impulse. Side by side sadistic and masochistic manifestations become manifested or

which is common to the pious and to the anancast. This rests on the peculiar experience of being overpowered. From its own standpoint the psychoanalytic school has occupied itself with these analogies but here also I am unable to agree to its orthodoxy. In particular I consider Freud's inversion of the problem to the extent that religion represents a "general human compulsion neurosis" not to be happy. Freud thinks "that the pious believer is protected to a high degree against the danger of certain neurotic diseases. The acceptance of a general neurosis relieves him of the necessity of developing a personal neurosis." It seems to me that the proof of an even relative freedom from neurosis among pious believers is not accomplished. Regarding Freud's conception of religion as a "general human compulsion neurosis" it would be necessary to assume that the pious believer is particularly protected toward compulsive phenomena. I am convinced that this assumption would be completely erroneous.

[73] I quote here an excellent remark of Kronfeld's: "He who has seen and treated many compulsive neurotics can not escape the impression even without being a follower of Freud, that strictly from the point of view of content compulsive taboos, compulsive fears, compulsive impulses, and so on, stand predominantly in obvious or more concealed relationship to the sphere of sexuality and its associated realms and that they come in conflict with hidden shame and inhibitions, aesthetic needs, and self-esteem in the physical realm. Abhorrence, resistance, disgust, sense of shame, fear, aesthetic self-esteem, and moral rigor in almost all compulsive processes are in close battle with the compulsive content. If one attempts an analysis of the personality concerned, particular reserve, shame, and tendency to repression is found just in respect to the sexual." Nevertheless even Kronfeld does not maintain any fundamental causal connection between compulsion and sexuality.

repressed (Hoffmann,[74] Strohmayer). There frequently occurs, however, a compulsive persistence in masturbation[75] (infantile psychosexuality) which may then be accompanied by sado-masochistic fantasies.

The rejection of sexuality may go so far in some anancasts that they avoid sexual enlightenment, at least outwardly. If one is sexually cognizant and at all sexually active it is impossible to remain longer a child. One must then "go out into the hostile life" of which one is afraid and for which one feels not to be a match.[76] In the compulsion, however, it is possible to

[74] Hoffmann has explained the way in which the antinomy of the anancast, expansion (sthenia) and insecurity (asthenia), which are represented in sexuality as sadistic and masochistic factors, may be in conflict. He says of one case which Wermescher described in an unpublished thesis (Tübingen, 1925): "In Bolt nothing is complete and independent, he is neither a scrupulous, anxious hypochondriac nor an energetic man of power and will, striving for independence. He is both at the same time, inwardly torn between the morals of master and slave; the compulsive symptoms build the connecting bridge."

[75] It would be utterly wrong to consider masturbation or any of the sexual perversions as fundamentally compulsive. (I should like to warn against the use of such a conception in dealing with the courts.) However no one may question that *occasionally* any sort of sexual perversion may have compulsive components side by side with others.

[76] The observations concerning anancastic children seem to me not to agree with this conception. With them the affirmation and denial (defense) of early sexual and presexual impulse experiences are as a rule no less clear than in adults. It may perhaps be asserted that the anancastic child suffers particularly from sexual phenomena which rise "anachronistically" or the rising of which is experienced as it were anachronistically. In this place mention may be made of the peculiarity which some children share with many anancasts, but also with many anxious psychopaths: the peculiarity of being unable to remain alone at all or in special situations. One may assume that here the childlike or infantile wish to remain with the father or with the mother becomes manifest (incest-complex).

escape a hostile life and in spite of doing so to be slave and master (Hoffmann), child and parent, although the rôle of child is more actually lived and the rôle of parent more enacted. Nevertheless the pathoplastic effect and final significance of the incest-complex is to be remembered in this connection. The strict morals,[77] the hyperethics of many anancasts become understandable on the basis of ambitendency and overcompensation. They see the grapes which they do not dare to enjoy, they declare the grapes sour in order to forbid themselves to enjoy them.

It has been attempted to bring compulsive manifestations into strict clinical association. Stöcker wanted to let them be included in manic depressive insanity. Bleuler thought in single cases that they might be latent schizophrenias. Stöcker's assumption has found no acceptance and with right. In his cases one had to deal either with symptomatic compulsive manifestations in manic depressives or with anancasts with components of manic depressive predisposition.[78] Some of

[77] The fact has received frequent stress by Birnbaum among others, that the criminology of the anancastic is extraordinarily slight. I have examined an anancastic deceiver, but I have never seen an anancast who became a criminal as the result of his compulsion. This is not to be related one-sidedly to the strict moral code of the anancasts but rather to the fact that in the total structure of the personality concerned antisocially directed structural factors are very infrequently found. To the extent to which they are present however—and actually a certain antisocial substructure of the compulsive content indicated in the tendency to injure the fellow men is not to be denied—the anancastic personality usually lacks the activity of the sthenic which is necessary for criminal activity. The anancastic personality satisfies its criminal inclination in itself, if one may so express it, being criminal and judge (slave and master, child and parent) in one person.

[78] It occurs very frequently in anancastic psychopaths that compulsive manifestations recede periodically far into the background,

his cases had perhaps no relationship at all to the manic depressive cycle. Identification of "compulsive neuroses" with schizophrenia is also not feasible, although schizophrenic courses are not infrequent which for days and years may appear anancastic and become recognizable as schizophrenic only after considerable time (Jahrreiss).

The anancasts have also been proclaimed as schizoid. That some anancasts may be schizoid psychopaths from the point of view of clinical diagnosis is certain.[79] Nevertheless this is in no sense general. The existing relationship is based psychologically on the peculiarity of character attitude. That on the other hand there are to be found among the cycloids representatives of the anancastic group also is evident in the importance of the dysphoric temperament for compulsive manifestations. Personalities lacking any impulsive peculiarity and autistic and ambitendent attitude may rarely incline to compulsive manifestations, and may be not markedly anancastic. The fact deserves special mention however that isolated and transitory compulsive phenomena are to be found also in personalities which are generally not dystonic and show themselves beneath their non-dystonic character attitudes to be warm in affect, belonging now and then among the offshoots of the cycloid group.[80] An explana-

occasionally even they may disappear entirely for some time but then reappear intensively. Evidence will be occasionally found for the fact that these vacillations are connected with manic depressive courses but they are in nowise to be unexceptionally thus related.

[79] The relative frequency of asthenic anancasts is to be remembered.

[80] There are also temperamental and tachythymic euphoric (even hypomanic) anancasts. Nevertheless the need for communication shown by many compulsive psychopaths, their frequently marked

tion and understanding of this fact should be available on the basis of the foregoing remarks.

If it was once considered that the anancasts belonged in "hysteria" (Thomsen) one can but say that there exists no special tendency to compulsive manifestations in personalities termed hysteric. To be sure hysterics, like many other psychopaths,[81] sometimes have compulsive manifestations. So it may happen that in an individual case it is impossible to decide with certainty whether we are dealing with an anancastic with hysterical traits (need for prestige) or with a hysterical psychopath with compulsive phenomena. There is no question that this decision may depend as well either on the particular cross section which the observer gets of the personality concerned or on the fundamental attitude of the observer himself. By the label "anancastic psychopath" the personality is designated only in one typical aspect. In the characterization of the anancastic it is just as important as it is with all psychopaths to grasp the personality structure in detail and to designate it from the point of view of structural analysis.

Examples

Eliza Gru. was a 16-year-old girl (Roman Catholic) extremely slender and still rather undeveloped. Her father was a tachythymic excitable pyknic; her mother a nervous, hysterical

readiness to speak of their compulsion, is not to be referred fundamentally to such temperamental coloring but rather more frequently to the inclination to display themselves with their self-torture (see how I suffer!—self-depreciation and overcompensatory need of prestige).

[81] Some anancasts as a result of outer behavior developed through their compulsive ceremonial may be regarded as eccentric. Nevertheless not all anancastics are eccentric and not all eccentric persons are anancastic.

woman who, like her own mother, was subject to compulsive manifestations. Eliza always enjoyed the company of other children. At the age of 4 she was sexually enlightened by a servant girl: that, she said, was a sin, she didn't want to know about it, she really didn't know about it, but perhaps she was curious just the same. In school she was near the head of her class although study was not easy for her. She was always overanxious and conscientious. From the time of her first confession she was tortured against her will by unclean thoughts. Frequently she went several times to confession because she thought she might have forgotten something. A few weeks after the menarche, in her 16th year, the unclean thoughts became much more strong. She was compelled always to look at the "unclean part" of people and pictures, at the naked part of holy pictures, and she always had to visualize unchaste things, being compelled to think nasty, insulting words with regard to people but also with regard to Christ on the cross. Then she always immediately thought an opposing thought in order to defend herself against the unclean and to fight it down but she could never quite accomplish it. She was not sure whether the thoughts came involuntarily or perhaps even voluntarily, she was compelled always to think again and to say: "I will not think that, I will not promise my soul to the devil, it is better to die than to sin. I don't like that." There was also fear of touching and dirtying (particularly strong during menstruation), as well as occasionally compulsive urges (to spit at the crucifix, etc).

In the clinic the girl was found to be psychically and physically considerably less developed than her 16 years, although she showed no intellectual deficiencies. She was sensitive, overanxious, and excitable. Frequently she was much tortured by her compulsive phenomena which burst forth occasionally at this time in a scarcely intelligible flow of speech; sometimes she was more released for hours and days. During ward rounds and on other occasions side by side with her great need of being talked to and of being consoled, she gave demonstrations which were evidently hysterical. Her communications suggested a certain self-complacency.

Structural analysis:

Physique: infantile asthenic pubescent.

Impulse-life: puberal insecurity of impulse (with great sexual curiosity).

Temperament: anxious, excitable.

Character: ambitendent, with egocentric stress.

Typical anancast with anancastic heredity that will probably carry farther the clearly anancastic development.

Leopold Ha. was a 25-year-old single journalist (born 1889); son of an "unusually nervous and excitable" father. As a child he had developed well both physically and mentally; he was of middle stature and strength. In the 6 first classes of high school he always ranked among the best pupils. From the 3rd of May 1906 to date, according to his own statement, he was "psychopathic." He had to read Homer aloud in his class, and wanted to recite particularly well. Suddenly he was caught by the compulsive idea that he could not speak before many people, and from it he was never able to free himself (experience of mortifying insufficiency), yet it was necessary for him to speak in order to be "completely a man." The ailment, he said, was conditioned by "shyness and ambition. These combined and vied with each other; the result was the psychopathic break." The compulsive idea interfered with his capacity for thought and work and put him out of humor. The bad moods he banished temporarily by getting drunk. He studied law, but did not take the examination; he tried to work in various vocations which did not require his speaking before a great number of people, and finally became a journalist; this occupation, however, especially the constant telephoning only heightened his nervousness. After the death of his mother (at the age of 45 from tuberculosis) he got into a quarrel with his father concerning the inheritance. He then quickly spent his portion of the inheritance (incest complex, demonstration against the father). After having one evening recounted his situation to a friend with whom he had had a child, and after the girl had wept violently, he woke up some hours later with palpitation and trembling, entered into hours of consideration

as to the best method of suicide and then requested the police to put him in a mental hospital.

Brought to the clinic he gave detailed information of his situation, and his frequent suicidal intentions. He was depressed and asserted that the mood changed but that the compulsive idea remained constant. "My desire would be to have a vocation which would compel me to speak before many people, for example that of agitator; in this way I would become free of the compulsive idea." A few days after the discharge from the clinic he shot himself.

Structural analysis:

Physique: myopia; physique generally non-conspicuous.

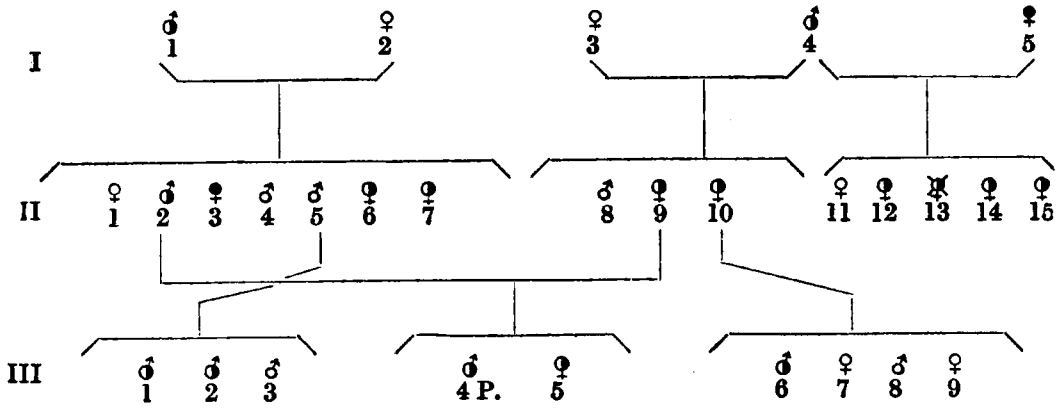
Impulse-life: middle strength, probably unbalanced.

Temperament: excitable, predominantly depressive with vacillations, sensitive.

Character: ambitendent ("discouraged ambitious").

Anancastic psychopath, perhaps cycloid.

The 23-year-old single bookbinder, Joseph We., carried a heavy hereditary burden.



I, 1: very religious, sickly, brutal, hot-tempered, violent. He cruelly struck the father (II, 2) of the patient.

I, 2: religious but not exaggeratedly so.

I, 3: died of tuberculosis.

I, 4: religious, prayed much, an inveterate churchgoer.

I, 5: nervously weak, hot-tempered, irritable, intolerable, attacks, later mentally diseased.

II, 1, 4, 5, 11: no information.

II, 2: religious, daily at mass and evensong, hot-tempered, violent, brutal, struck his child with a whip in which there were knots. Ruled the religious activity of the family.

II, 3: was now and then out of his head.

II, 6: violent, excitable.

II, 7: had "attacks of nerves."

II, 9: religious, attended daily 2 or 3 masses, anxious, nervous, *compulsion* to control, afraid of fire, thought that her husband (II, 2) had not brought up his son (patient) sufficiently strictly. During illness of husband she was beside herself and confused.

II, 10: strikingly cheerful.

II, 12: anxious.

II, 13: drunkard.

II, 14: anxious.

II, 15: saw the devil.

III, 1 and 2: "attacks of nerves."

III, 3: no information.

III, 4: patient.

III, 5: anxious, insecure, cried much, went every week to confession, *scepticism,* was always considering whether she had done things rightly.

III, 6: licentious, repeatedly bankrupt.

III, 7, 8, 9: healthy.

The patient, a small, sufficiently nourished male, with a large head and protruding chin, was poorly developed as a child. In school he studied well but was fearful and cried much; had night terrors. At the age of 8 he is supposed to have had meningitis. In his 10th year there suddenly appeared a paralysis of arm and leg, which disappeared after 8 days (active reflexes, no pyramidal signs). From his 12th year on he was very restless at night, got out of bed in his sleep, thought he had swallowed a bottle and wanted to jump out the window. He was 4 years in high school and then because of his nervousness left and became a bookbinder's apprentice to his father (II, 2). From his 19th year on compulsive manifestations developed: when he was alone he feared he would have to steal, consequently it was impossible for him to be alone and

he could do nothing independently. He could not go out the door alone for fear he would have to steal something. He thought that he had put something in his pocket and that a piece of paper lying on the street was a banknote that he had stolen, "was afraid of hurting God through stealing. In other matters I can tell whether I have done it or not." Every evening he laid the keys of the house on his father's bedside table in order to be sure that he would not have to steal in the night (incest complex). From his 24th year on he had attacks of convulsions and fainting after excitement. He was never in love but was afraid of women. In the clinic he showed himself to be good-natured, anxious and excitable. Occasionally he spoke of *taedium vitae*. He was very religious.

Structural analysis:

Physique: small.
Impulse-life: weak and uncertain in impulse.
Temperament: excitable, anxious, sensitive.
Character: ambitendent, hysterical manifestations.
Anancastic psychopath.

5. *Concerning the Sensitive Psychopaths*

Following the discussion of the anancasts the remarks made concerning the temperament of the sensitive[82] should be completed in the characteriological aspect. It has been explained that the sensitive temperament is in no sense unitary; and this is just as little the case with their character which however displays the common trait of *insecurity* and may be never free from *ambitendency*. A series of sensitive psychopathic types may be even markedly ambitendent, constantly torn between the poles of self-undervaluation and self-overvaluation (overcompensations). Others with strong resentment show to a high degree the inclination to isolate themselves in the manner of the passive autist;

[82] P. 232.

with others again self-depreciation bears strange fruit in the form of ego-searching (feeling of being slighted, self-torturing submission to the degree of "bondage"). It would result in mere repetition to go more into detail with regard to the significance of the active (sthenic) element in the essentially passive asthenic character structure of the sensitive. That with these personalities a *"sthenic sting"* is usually present Kretschmer has shown in a thoroughgoing manner. He demonstrated in particular how the "sthenic sting" influences the elaboration of personal experiences, not least the elaboration of the experiences of mortifying insufficiency in the erotic and sexual sphere. This also undoubtedly occurs in experiences which are not in Kretschmer's sense "key experiences" for the special peculiarity of the sensitive.

The great inclination of many sensitives to self-depreciation brings in its wake very frequently extensive *overcompensatory formations* (salvation of ego-value, Storch). In the sensitive with their tenderness and vulnerability an overcompensatory pose for the benefit of themselves and others is not infrequent: I am so delicate that all others in comparison to me are gross blockheads; life is brutal; I am an exceptional person. Beneath this the mechanism of egocentric striving for prestige for the purpose of attainment of a pseudo-superiority is readily discernible. The same sort of thing may play a rôle also with many sensitive sexual psychopaths (masturbators, homosexuals) who on the basis of their sense of inferiority[83] seek consolation and salvation of ego value in the overemphasis of their sensitive peculiarity. Perhaps Herman Bang is an especially clear example of this type.

[83] The inferiority of the sensitive is readily nourished from organ inferiority.

Owing to the impressionability and restraint of the sensitive, *experiences* doubtlessly have a directional influence on the total development of the personality in the manner of its setting goals and purposes. One would do well, however, not to overvalue these experiences in themselves and instead to think of the fact that these personalities suffer particularly under life, that is under their experience, and have a certain constitutional affinity for such experiences which at the same time threaten their self-esteem, and give them occasion to make in their own way their adjustment with the environment. The way and manner in which this happens is then essentially dependent on impulsive and temperamental bases which give a foundation for the absolute or relative weakness, and so from the causal point of view determine whether and to what extent a struggle will be waged, or to what extent the whole experience from the outset will bear the stamp of surrender and resignation.[84]

In view of the many remarks already made respecting the impulse life a statement may suffice that many of the sensitive are *weak* and unsure in impulse. Among them especially one finds also marked *psychosexual infantilism.* Especially with respect to the impulsive behavior reference may be made to the appropriate remarks concerning anancasts in whom the sensitivity is of fundamental importance. As with the anancasts so also with the sensitive, one sees occasionally intense impulsive demands to which, however, temperamental blocks and final inhibitions are opposed, so that from the denial of impulse, manifold material for conflict in the erotic-sexual realm is offered which can take effect in the total development of these

[84] Cf. the chapter concerning psychopathic courses, pp. 493–494.

types. At a later age there is often enough regret concerning the missed opportunities which, half warded off by the overcompensatory moral code of the sensitive, forms the starting point for manifestations of a paranoid and paranoic nature (jealousy, ideas of reference) which, as Kretschmer has brilliantly represented, can reach over into the psychotic. The important investigations of Kehrer also should be mentioned in this field in that it is evident from them that the sensitivity is not the only factor which may be of a determinative effect.

As a special type of the sensitive and indeed as one with an obviously active sthenic element in which active autistic traits are present, I would like to mention the *sensitive dogmatist.* He represents a variety of the sensitive who on principle is not allowed by his self-esteem ever to be in the wrong no matter how much external circumstances prove him to be so. I have examined an intelligent, sensitive seventeen-year-old[85] who in an unclearly erotic attitude and as the result of a false sense of honor seriously injured a girl by a shot in the abdomen, and then made a serious suicidal attempt. He had never made the slightest attempt to consider the situation from the other side but remained firmly of the opinion that he was justified in his action. Similar to him was a young student of medicine who misunderstood a relationship with a classmate. The classmate who was a decidedly psychopathic girl received a grandiloquently threatening letter from the student. This young man later attempted to prove by long-winded explanations that perhaps he might be punished according to the letter of the law but he

[85] The son of a physically small, quarrelsome father and an egocentric mother with an extreme need for prestige.

would never be shown to have been wrong under the moral law. Such persons undoubtedly contain within themselves a tendency to paranoia; in their overcompensatory sensitive endeavor to maintain the integrity of their inwardly insecure ego-value they show an almost convulsive exertion.[86]

Clinico-genealogically many of the sensitive—but I do not believe all of them—belong among the schizoids. I content myself with a reference to the discussion of the temperament of the sensitive. To this it may only be added that in general the *cool* sensitives show relationships rather to the schizoids whereas the *soft* and *warm-hearted* show for the most part essentially "cycloid" temperamental make-ups, and are certainly in part "cycloid."

Examples

The 30-year-old student of philosophy, Frederic Weis., was hard of hearing and had corneal opacities. He was of middle stature and healthy appearance. He had a brother who was excessively reserved. He had lost his mother early and had had no contact with his father and little with his brother. He was a good ambitious scholar; a constant sufferer even in small circles from a feeling of inferiority. His difficulty in hearing became less "in moments of complete self-reliance." He tended to have gloomy moods and suicidal thoughts. For years he worked on his doctor's thesis but did not know what to take up, was afraid of deciding on any particular profession. As he often felt himself inefficient he went to many nerve specialists. He suffered from sleeplessness and anxiety states with outbreaks of perspiration. He stood in intimate relation to no one, particularly not to women.

In the clinic he showed himself to be very sensitive and of

[86] The first case was in the midst of the puberal period which was not entirely over in the student either. I merely make reference in this connection to the significance of sensitivity in puberty.

little activity. Together with a deep sense of inferiority he displayed great anxiety in face of the demands of life. He was very intelligent and could bear no criticism.

Structural analysis:

Physique: organ inferiority.
Impulse-life: weak in impulse.
Temperament: anxious, obvious depressive features, cool.
Character: predominantly passive autist with egocentric features.
Sensitive psychopath.

A 20-year-old single serving girl, Louise Has., was born of a drunkard father and an "unstable" mother. Her sister was adopted by well-to-do people. Louise was 152 cm. in height and of delicate infantile build. She was good at her studies in school, lied as a child, and often ran away. (The parental *milieu* was very unsatisfactory, the grandfather enlightened the children as to the infidelity of the mother.) She was always sensitive. From her 14th year she had hysterical attacks in which she saw black men. At 15 she had an attack as a tram started, beneath which she had intended to throw herself; as a result she was brought to the clinic.

She was shy, dreamy, childishly defiant and then trusting. She took no pleasure in work, she envied her sister who made fun of her. She would gladly have been adopted also, felt deserted and complained that no one loved her. She admitted a certain amount of control over her attacks.

At 18 she came back to the clinic in her 5th month of pregnancy after a suicidal attempt. She had been a servant girl, had fallen in love with the son of the house, and was turned out on the street by the mother when she had become aware of it. She was still childlike and very changeable in mood. She showed a tendency to embellishment of her experience; she often sat in a corner quiet and depressed.

When she came again to the clinic 2 years later she was again pregnant; the first child, according to her account, had been adopted by a foreign countess. This time she had been an office girl and had become pregnant by her chief who then

turned her out. After a suicidal attempt she was brought to the clinic having gone through a hospital and a mother's home in which she had not spoken for days and from which she had repeatedly run away. It had hurt her greatly that her chief had turned her out. She showed herself still childlike, was markedly sensitive, supple and behaved somewhat theatrically: she was not suited to the world, all men were beneath her. "One does not marry a psychopathic girl." She was gloomy and reserved.

Structural analysis:

Physique: infantile.

Impulse-life: moderately strong and still relatively undeveloped.

Temperament: not without warmth, soft, sensitive, depressive traits.

Character: predominantly passive autistic (resentment) with egocentric and ego-searching elements.

Social: "unstable."

Sensitive psychopath.

6. *The Hysterical Personalities*

It would be a weary undertaking to determine everything that has been and is still called "hysterical" and "hysteria" within and outside of psychiatry. In almost every newspaper one can read something about "hysterical" persons, and the layman contentedly makes the "diagnosis" hysteria in many cases with regard to which his psychology is at a loss. This popularization of the hysterical is undoubtedly to be charged against the nerve specialists, and indeed against almost all physicians. The "concept of hysteria" is even among psychiatrists a varying one, "confused largely by the favor and hatred of the parties," so that Krisch is well justified in his statement that it is impossible to come to a complete agreement with regard to the question of hysteria because of the varying

definition of the hysterical as well as because of the various systems of psychology of the investigators.

Our task is limited and relieved by the fact that we need not go more deeply into the question of hysterical reactions,[87] but have merely to examine the question as to what the so-called hysterical personality may be. Nevertheless first of all an indication must be given of our position on those hysterical reactions.

We see in the hysterical, or more generally expressed psychogenic, manifestations not diseases but rather psychic reactions of the personality which are potentially represented in every man and become actualized in a great number of men as soon as the pressure from without—experiences, or the impression of experiences—on the totality of the existent psychophysical condition of the personality becomes great enough. In this sense every person may be regarded as "capable of hysteria" (*hysteriefaehig,* Hoche). It seems beyond question that single hysterical symptoms and the more complicated hysterical or psychogenic manifestations may be related causally to *biological bases,* and are also to a certain extent phylogenetically (Kraepelin, Kretschmer), and ontogenetically grounded (infantile reactions, inhibitions of development). In many persons manifesting hysterical phenomena a conclusion may readily be drawn from the manifestations as to the psychopathic make-up of the personality. With the remaining cases this conclusion is dependent on the disproportion, more exactly, on the judgment of the *disproportion between "stimulus" and hysterical phenomenon;* to this judgment must be added, to be sure, the valuation of the significance of the purpose and of the success of the phenomenon for

[87] Reference may be made to the recent works by Blum and Braun.

the personality in its present situation. *The teleological point of view* was for the first time brought into complete clarity by Bonhoeffer and designated as *presentation of disease* (*Krankheitsdarstellung*).

If we anticipate that we consider a *particular type of purposefulness* as characteristic of the so-called hysterical personality, we cannot avoid seeking the connecting thread between single hysterical reactions and the hysterical personality, in themselves two entirely different phenomena though described by the same adjective. One might say that the diagnosis "hysteria" was made for a long time in the great majority of cases with hysterical symptoms whether it was a question of transitory hysterical attacks occurring in young girls (developmental hysteria, Kraepelin), or of numerous hysterical phenomena in psychopathic personalities that had endured for decades, and in those with a peculiar characterological structure (degenerative hysteria, Kraepelin). It then became evident that in various psychopathic types there exists a certain predilection for the actualization of hysterical mechanisms, namely in those types that show a defect in their "consciousness of health" (Kohnstamm) or the inclination of "flight into disease" (Freud). In such personalities there is the question of an *evasion from the demands of life which is more or less sure of goal and clear of purpose,* when the personality cannot meet these demands straightforwardly or occasionally does not want to meet them. Now among the great mass of the hysterical there were found personalities whose setting of goals and purposes corresponds to those we indicated, that is, personalities who only now and then made use of hysterical symptoms and reactions, being characterized only by a psychopathic peculiarity of their total psychic attitude. Since, however, in their to-

tal psychic attitude they had much in common with psychopathic personalities in whom hysterical phenomena are frequent and had been watched through many years, the term hysterical personality continued to be applied to them.[88] Now what we actually had before us were *"hysterical personalities without hysteria."* In the meantime attention was drawn to the fact that the *final attitude of presentation* is common to hysterical symptoms and reactions, to varied types with such symptoms and reactions, and ultimately to those *"hysterical personalities without hysteria." The final attitude of presentation* is, to be sure, in the hysterical personality in the narrower and broader sense in no way limited to the presentation of disease.[89] Thus for the hysterical and for hysterical personalities the *lack of genuineness* has come to be the stigma, this has given to the word its fatal moralistic flavor from which no psychiatric endeavors will ever again quite free it. In this way, as the result of evident subjective bias on the part of the observer, the designation hysterical has often enough been applied to anything in the behavior

[88] Much has also been said concerning the hysterical constitution. I do not consider this concept to be well founded (Cf. p. 70). One may seek constitutional roots for all the so-called hysterical manifestations and it is certainly justifiable to designate much that is hysterical as constitutional. There are, however, very different constitutions which are "hysterophil" (Birnbaum), and no one of them can lay claim to being "the hysterical constitution."

[89] Klages designated the hysteric as "a being with abnormally low formative faculty with a highly developed drive for presentation." In this we must agree. The relative lack of capacity for personal experience residing in their structure, their lack of striving toward effort brings about within them the need and the ability to slip into every outer garment, to play every rôle in order to gain prestige. So Klages is able to say that in these personalities "the drive for presentation has become the ruling motive."

of a personality which appeared unsatisfactory, uncongenial, and "morally not quite beyond reproach."

Setting off the elements of presentation and lack of genuineness, Jasper was able to make this formulation: "Instead of being contented with its given anlagen and life possibilities, the hysterical personality feels the need to appear before others more than it is, to experience more than it is capable of experiencing. In place of the original genuine experience with its natural expression there enters in a fictitious, acted, forced experience. This experience must not be consciously fictitious but it is characterized by the ability (the true hysterical gift) of the person concerned, to live entirely in its own theatre, to be completely carried away at the moment, thus bearing an air of genuineness." Bumke expresses it more briefly: "Their natural bearing is pose."[90, 91]

Is one then to retain the name "hysterical" personality and hysterical character in any sense for this psychopathic variety, for these personalities whose peculiarity is ultimately not determined by what was originally understood as "hysteria," and now still designated as hysterical reactions, manifestations, mechanisms, syndromes, etc.? Kretschmer has explained that one cannot ask: "Have people with hysterical reactions a definite character?" He says rightly that there is no such thing as a hysterical character in the sense of this question. He seems to me not entirely

[90] Cf. p. 23.

[91] Klages formulates the same thought in this way: "The hysterical mechanism carried to the highest and consequently impossible exaggeration would be a reflector which merely throws back outer lights and acts out a pseudo-life by means of organic imitation of foreign lives." "The *imitatio* is the common characteristic of all hysterical phenomena."

consistent when he nevertheless designates certain types, for example, pathological swindlers, as hysterical characters on the ground that they display "a particularly frequent inclination to hysterical reactions." As things actually are one must be clear as to the fact that the giving of a name is merely a question of expediency and convention. Kurt Schneider introduced the term "psychopaths with a craving for prestige" (*geltungsbedürtige Psychopathen*).[92] It is certain that the passion for prestige, with all its effects, represents a predominant and essential trait of this type. What is lacking in Schneider's term, however, aside from the fact that craving for prestige does not exhaust the peculiarities of the hysterical, is the traditional wealth of associations which the terms "*hysterical personality*" or "*hysterical character*" or "*hysterical psychopath*" have. For this reason I retain the adjective "hysterical," the more because as Bumke noted, it would be a futile undertaking to try to eliminate it from the psychiatric vocabulary.[93] Concerning terminology it remains to be added that it would be very desirable to stop using the word "hysteria." There exists no such entity as a disease "hysteria" (Hoche), there are only

[92] Schneider says now *geltungssüchtig* (desirous for prestige).

[93] In a certain sense the hysterical personality is the psychopath in pure culture. In an accentuated form we find the hysterical in a number of psychopaths but never so marked and trenchant as in the hysteric. As in the whole realm of psychopathy here also it is impossible to mark out a boundary line with the inscription "here begin the hysterical personalities." One will doubt in many cases whether one may term them already, or still, hysterical. In reference to the weight that the subjective attitude of the examiner can have at this point (Krisch) it is advisable to be reserved with regard to the grouping of psychopathic personalities among the hysterical. If in a doubtful case the word "hysterical" seems inevitable then the use of the compromise term "hysterical trait" or "hysterical element" is to be recommended.

hysterical manifestations and hysterical personalities. As long as we carry along "hysteria" there will continue to be numerous avoidable misunderstandings which in general medical practice and in court situations have an undesirable effect.

Certainly there exists no *one* type of hysterical personality, but rather various types belong in this group. If we attempt to grasp these types the main emphasis of our consideration will fall in the realm of character as is evident from our total concept and from the foregoing discussion. We must nevertheless begin at the bottom.

In his "stricter hysteria" which overlaps our conception of the hysterical personality, but is far from covering it, Kretschmer did not find "a positive or negative affinity worthy of mention," to the "three great groups of physique." On the other hand he noted "a strong stigmatization in the vegetative system." We would like to assume however that in hysterical personalities there is to be observed a certain *predominance of leptosomaticism and asthenia* with which the relative frequency of *vegetative stigmata,* which is not to be disputed, would well agree.[94] Frequently there occur *infantile asthenic* and markedly *infantile* physiques which one may apprehend as expressing a general organ inferiority. That special organ inferiorities occur particularly often among hysterical personalities is not to be demonstrated. Nevertheless these personalities incline in a striking manner to an experiential exploiting of a present organ inferiority. One may perhaps suppose that hysterical personalities with organ inferiority stood godfather to Adler's nervous charac-

[94] Lange has voiced the suspicion that a peculiar metabolic anomaly may offer the foundation for a group of hysterical personalities.

ter or neurotic constitution; this is the more noteworthy in that before Adler the purposive attitude in question was familiar in just the hysterical personalities, even though it was not worked out in its peculiarity and clearly distinguished in its full significance.

Frequently in man and much more frequently in woman intersexual peculiarities of physique (Mathes) participate in the realm of the hysterical personalities: deficient development of the sexuality in the total physique, elements of the masculine physique in the woman, feminine in the man. These are then frequently personalities who protest against their sexual rôle because they are not satisfied as to its univalence.[95] The psychoanalytical school has made many single observations concerning this (menstruation complex) the worth of which unfortunately is greatly decreased[96] by the usual generalization.

This brings us to the *impulsive basis* of the hysterical personality. We need not occupy ourselves with the question as to whether *all* hysterical traits can be causally traced to sexuality. This is not our belief; we will merely discuss the significance of the impulsive life in general and of the sex impulse in particular for the hysterical personality. It may be said in general

[95] This lack of satisfaction reaches far out beyond the purely sexual.

[96] The greater frequency of hysterical reactions and hysterical personality types in women is without doubt related to their peculiarities in body and impulse. That intersexual women are more hysterical than intersexual men may be traced in part to the different positions of the sexes in the community; the man, even though he be intersexual, has a certain social privilege from which he can derive a certain gain for the sake of his inferiority complex. The intersexual woman finds her less favorable social ranking doubly difficult; if she does not succeed by way of overcompensation in attaining a professional activity, hysterical evasion is temptingly convenient.

that "there is something wrong" in their impulsive basis. On the one hand a *relative or absolute weakness of impulse* very frequently plays an incisive rôle; on the other hand it is *the uncertainty of the sexual attitude* which is not necessarily given in a recognizable (intersexual) physique but which determines the bearing and development of the personality. Here *feminine frigidity* comes especially to mind: causal relationship of which to the hysterical has always been considered significant and is still considered so by many authors. Frigidity in hysterical women is caused either by weakness of impulse or by an intersexually conditioned uncertainty in their sexual attitude; impulsive weakness and intersexual traits may exist side by side.[97] Many of these women are never cognizant of their sexual peculiarity or do not become cognizant of it until very late; some of them find after many failures an appropriate male partner in so far as they have merely homosexual factors or a female partner if they are predominantly or entirely Lesbian. The situation with men may be similar. The sexual peculiarity in itself is not sufficient to make such personalities hysterical. This becomes evident not only on the basis of the fact that intersexuals are not at all in the majority in these cases but also because experience has shown that hysterical intersexuals usually do not cease

[97] This becomes evident in the presentation which Mörchen gave of "degenerate women of higher society," an undoubtedly hysterical type. He characterizes them as "vicious flappers" and calls attention to "a sort of infantile sexuality. This is exhausted in extensive flirtation, in all sorts of perversities, even to the most vicious activities but she can readily deny herself satisfaction by means of the normal sexual act, there existing even a sort of aversion to the latter." The flapper, the pubescent woman, is psychosexually essentially undeveloped and uncertain in impulse. In the aversion to the sexual act we recognize a protest against the feminine rôle already mentioned.

to be hysterical after they have succeeded in solving the sexual problem either entirely or in a more or less satisfactory manner. One must imagine that these personalities are *deeply dissatisfied with their corporeal and with their fundamental impulsive attitude;* this dissatisfaction causes feelings of inferiority and combines with an *inability,* rooted in their total impulsive life, *to reach a solution or even a tolerable compromise between the demands of impulse and the renunciation of impulse.* In this way these personalities in their deepest levels are led to attempt evasions and repressions instead of working directly toward solutions.

In the defective differentiation of impulse in these types there is to be seen a phenomenon related to the impulse-life of childhood and early adolescence. It is also possible with regard to hysterical psychopaths to speak of *infantilism* and of *inhibition of development* (Kraepelin). Manifestations of *psychosexual infantilism* are particularly frequent among them. How this factor is fitted into the final system will be discussed later. Just as the child strives purely for pleasure again[98] (Freud) and "narcistically"[99] places the environment in his service without on his part accomplishing anything for the benefit of the environment that would cause himself displeasure, so it happens with hysterical personalities, but with one noteworthy

[98] I have explained that I do not conceive the child's pleasure as sexual. Cf. pp. 103, 104.

[99] "Narcism" is in some way in the picture of all psychopaths, nevertheless one can get along generally without this expression, and for example, as I do, speak of a sense of importance or a sense of self-importance or of the preoccupation with the ego. It may perhaps be expedient to limit the term "narcism" to sexual psychopathology or sexual psychology. With regard to this point it may be impossible to attain mutual understanding even concerning nomenclature with the psychoanalysts.

difference. The child in his "narcism" knows as yet nothing of displeasure, the hysteric knows and fears it as a result of his conflicts with the environment; he takes refuge in a childlike narcistic attitude and attempts in this way to escape from the environment and thus from displeasure. Since he cannot get along entirely without the environment he comes in an infantile manner to subject it to his service so far as he is able to do so. This already belongs to finality.

The causal conditionings of the total hysterical attitude are not limited to the impulsive basis from which they derive in part their more or less active or passive stamp, but they also have important roots in the *temperament*. Hysterical personalities (from the temperamental aspect) cannot be classified altogether with the designation "poor in affect," although the majority of them certainly are cool. There also exist tachythymic, excitable, cheerful, anxious, poikilothymic, sensitive, even hypomanic,[100] hysterical personalities. It is obvious that what the hysterical personality will make of its bases in impulse and body is largely dependent on the temperament equipment; for example, with the same basis the result will be quite different according to whether the temperament be vivacious, phlegmatic, euphoric, or anxious.

Ultimately the characterological stratum is superposed, the peculiarity of which in hysterical personali-

[100] Bleuler once gave the opinion that the hysterical personality could be conceived as hypomanic-schizoid. Undoubtedly there are hypomanic-schizoid hysteric, but well-defined examples are relatively infrequent. It would be a mistake on the other hand to include the hysteric among the schizoid psychopaths. That one finds more of the hysterical among schizoids than among cycloids is not surprising in view of the existent characterological relationships. Mention may again be made here of the predominance of leptosomic and related physiques.

ties lies in the *extreme development of the egocentric attitude.* It may be mentioned that, in addition, the other dystonic attitudes may be effective also. *The hysterical character is the domain of egocentricity.* It is unavoidable that in our discussion concerning the dystonic egocentric, the characterological peculiarity of the hysterical personality becomes again and again apparent: the ego-inclination on the basis of ego-weakness and insecurity, the ego-overvaluation and overcompensation, the active-passive (sthenic-asthenic) elements which betray the kinship to ambitendency, the demand on the environment, the craving for prestige, the relative incapacity for the experience of the Thou, the undervaluation of the non-ego, the tendency to pseudo-superiority, the lack of genuine values, the dominance of pseudo-values, the striving toward pseudo-goals; the whole pseudo-struggle for power on the basis of a will to power which is not genuine but conditioned by overcompensation. I do not wish to follow in detail the parallels in the attitude of the child which practically speaking knows neither effort nor values. Instead I will give briefly the difference between the "infantile" attitude of the anancastic and the sensitive, and that of hysterical psychopaths: the former *wish* to remain children and construct their world under this angle; the latter *remain* children but have the aspirations of adults and play their rôles, one of which is that of the child. In the former the egocentric hunger for prestige occurs now and then as an accessory, as it does in other psychopathic types; then there are formed hysterical manifestations and attitudes. In the latter ego-prestige rules supreme.

It is necessary to go a little more in detail into the analogies between the child's and the hysterical personality in the realm of fantasy, of untruthfulness and

of lying, because these analogies make possible the understanding of a special psychopathic type the presentation of which remains to be given.

The *child* lives in a *world of his own,* which is causally constructed according to the predominance of his undifferentiated impulse life and of his instincts. This world of the child stands in a certain opposition to reality (pleasure principle of Freud). Finally the child on the one hand adjusts himself to his world and on the other forms his world according to his impulsive and his temperamental needs. His chief tool in all this is *fantasy,* the child's power of imagination[101] which, generally speaking, is founded in his psychic mobility and lack of experiential content, having furthermore in the eidetic *Anlage*[102a] a root obviously reaching down into the physical. All experience, especially play, is elaborated in the child by fantasy and adorned and even filled in under certain circumstances. In the child's fantasy there is contained primarily nothing of conscious untruth. With increasing acquaintance with reality the child sees his own world threatened and so comes to secure it and himself in it by means of untruths. There is a *transitional or intermediate stage* during which it may not be clear whether the child himself still believes in the reality of his world or whether he has already begun more or less consciously to close his eyes in the face of the reality of the outer world. As a whole this transitional stage seems to be lived through relatively quickly;[102b] in some single experiences remainders may be observed even after considerable

[101] The gift of fantasy varies in children. The less fantasy a child has the less childlike he appears.

[102a] It seems to me beyond doubt that eidetic and fantasy have fundamentally deep-reaching relationships.

[102b] Though it may survive to some extent in adult thinking.

time (e.g., children as witnesses). Then it is often obvious how the child from his at first conscious untruth can subsequently work himself into a subjective conviction of the truth of his attitude or evidence. This intermediate stage is relieved by the starting of conscious untruth, of the *lie,* which for the child normally has the significance of a protective mechanism directed against reality with which he is as yet unable to come to terms. Obviously this third stage occasionally overshadows the intermediate stage and even sometimes the stage of fantasy.

These three stages of fantasy, untruth, and lying in the child, which as already indicated, are not sharply to be distinguished from each other, are very different with respect to duration and intensity in the various child types. Neither from their duration nor from their intensity is it possible to draw a sure conclusion as to the psychic deviation of a child; this is possible only on the basis of an understanding of the child's total personality.

Fantasy, untruthfulness, and lying, which causally considered are derived at least partially from the same roots, are *measures of the protection or security of the child's system of purposes.* They lose their significance and undergo disintegration in the degree to which the child leaves his own world and enters into reality. The child's system of purposes is transformed into the adult's system of purposes which is characterized by the goal-conscious introception of non-ego-purposes and by the adjustment to the hypertely, that is to the community with its purposes. That this transformation generally does not take place in a day is unnecessary to explain here. Nevertheless the fact should be mentioned that the transition from childlike to communal behavior may occasionally occur suddenly if its

necessity is recognized illuminatively as a result of some particularly impressive experience. The disintegration of fantasy, untruthfulness, and lying which originally are normal, natural manifestations takes place as a result of the final need of the community which cannot exist without trust and truth, without ethics and morals. Thus in the development of the individuals under the influence of education there are developed "inhibitory and blocking mechanisms with regard to lying" (Birnbaum) which are of a secondary nature, and in the pattern of our method of consideration are to be related to the characterological stratum. It may perhaps be said that the primitive impulsive man, who is natural or near to nature, and hence especially the child, cannot be truthful because in them the consciousness of the opposition between their own world and reality, that is, between their ego and the environment, is lacking or not yet completely developed. Then it may be possible to reverse this formulation and to say that in persons who live for a long time more or less in fantasy, in untruth, and in lying, the consciousness of this opposition may be either not present or may be repressed; that, furthermore, in the personality structure of such persons in the impulse-life and in the total behavior, infantilisms are found.

That peculiarities of the impulse-life and that infantilisms are of significance in hysterical personalities, to whom we will now return, has been already explained. Their fantasies and pseudologies are causally considered the expression of this peculiarity, and infantilisms are particularly formed manifestations of the hysterical untruthfulness and the hysterical lack of genuineness founded like their impulse-life in infantile inhibitions of development. Ultimately the fantastic and pseudologistic fabrications of the hysterical, as of the

child, serve the purpose both of bringing the ego and the world constructed by it to a position of particular prestige (egocentricity), and of securing it against the demands of the community (passive autistic element). Here two essential differences are to be seen. The personality which has outgrown childhood[103] knows reality and attempts to ward it off. The result toward which it is striving in this warding off is not so much concerned with the exclusion of reality as with the satisfaction of the need for prestige which indeed has sense and purpose only when reality, that is, the environment, is not only recognized and acknowledged as such, but also chosen[104] as the stage for the hysterical presentation,[105] that is when the environment means a value or a pseudo-value for the personality.

Here it must be added that *pure fantastics*[106] who merely work themselves into their dreams (day-dreams)[107]—they are, to be sure, relatively rare—do

[103] In childhood and in adolescence there occur all possible transitional stages between "still normal" and "already hysterical" behavior.

[104] We cannot go into greater detail concerning a differentiation of the "showing-off" of the healthy child from hysterical theatricality. Obviously there exists relationships between the two which are to be traced to infantilism.

[105] Klages says rightly: "Distinctive of hysterical behavior is the relation to the onlooker."

[106] Cf. Kurt Schneider.

[107] Concerning the daydreaming of the child, Homburger has given an excellent remark which applies occasionally also to adult fantastics: "In day dreaming the child plays with the pictures of his imagination, setting himself in situations, and playing rôles which correspond to certain wishes and plans, to his demands and his longings, to his conception of beauty and glamour, happiness and joy. These fantasies may become so vivid that reality disappears before them, and the child may be so exclusively given up to them that consciousness becomes 'clouded dreamlike.'"

not belong in the range of hysterical personalities. Although need for prestige and regression may play now and then a greater or less rôle in them they nevertheless lack entirely the hysterical pleasure of demonstration. Kronfeld well said: "The fantastic falsifies the value of the environment for himself, the pseudologist falsifies his own value for the environment," as K. Schneider put it: "The fantastic deceives himself, the pseudologist others." The *psychopathic fantastic* of the first water is generally weak in impulse, of a calm temperament, frequently with gloomy and sensitive elements; in the character aspect he is usually of a passive autistic attitude. There are also fantastic psychopaths with egocentricity and passion for prestige; these are personalities who do not work out their fantasies in solitude, but instead strive constantly to bring them before someone; temperamentally they are tachythymic or euphoric, occasionally even hypomanic.[108]

Related to these are the *prestige seeking* (hysterical) *braggarts* (K. Schneider) who attempt to take the front of the stage with more or less fantasy in exaggeration, swaggering and boasting.[109] They may be regarded as a pre-stage of the pseudologists among whom bragging frequently plays a considerable rôle.

The quiet, fantastic psychopaths resemble most closely the fantastic stage of the child. The vivacious and euphoric fantastics have much in common with the

[108] Here belong also fantastic braggarts who are constantly busy and making plans (projectors) but never bring them to fulfilment. Their fundamental euphoric mood makes it possible for these elastic personalities to follow every new plan with unshakable confidence that this time they will succeed. Their relationship to euphoric and hypomanic types is unmistakable. They often give the personal impression of unpleasant gossips.

[109] Among them belong for the most part the "genialoid" (Krisch).

child's intermediate stage; from them there is a gradual transition through the braggarts to the pseudologists.[110] Some vivacious and euphoric fantastic braggarts occasionally launch a real fraud. The pseudologists have fantasy almost without exception. That they like to brag has been mentioned.

The *pseudologists* who show a close parallel to all three stages of the child *we associate with the hysterical personalities.* They belong here on the basis of their whole personality structure. In their lying and swindling there is to be seen nothing else than a particularly marked form of the hysterical pleasure of presentation. We call this form particularly marked because lying and swindling are generally characteristic of the hysterical personality as a result of its untruthfulness and lack of genuineness. It may not be necessary to explain that we do not expect every liar and swindler to be a hysterical personality: there are many criminal swindlers and cheats of very different personality structure who have no place here. Conversely there can be no question that hysterical pseudology does not stop where criminal swindling and cheating begin. The main point is that in the hysterical pseudologist lying and swindling, either entirely or partially, are ego-purposes in so far as they serve the satisfaction of the need for prestige and allow the pleasure of representation to work itself out.

In reference to the impulse-life there is nothing essential to add in regard to the pseudologist which has not been said of the hysteric in general. That many

[110] Birnbaum differentiates pathological lying on the basis of a psychopathological passion for fabrication and of a morbid passion for prestige; the latter applies to our pseudologists, the former to the braggarts. Birnbaum furthermore discusses pathological lying arising from social-ethical defects.

pseudologists are sexually very active (hysterical marriage frauds, hysterical Don Juan types) gives them a particular place merely outwardly. Their sexual activity in particular is no proof of the integrity of their impulse-life, but instead betrays in their moving from one object to another, in their incapacity for love, an uncertainty of impulse goal. Furthermore in the pseudologists as in all hysterics the inclination to perversion is not an infrequent manifestation. In addition to their increased power of imagination, as K. Schneider says, the seekers for prestige, that is our hysterical psychopaths, must have a certain degree of activity at their disposal in order to become pseudologists. This activity finds expression in the usually cool pseudologists, in the form of more or less marked tachythymic and euphoric or even hypomanic elements. In the characteristic aspect this activity is represented in the active sthenic egocentricity of these types to which occasionally active autistic traits are not foreign.

The social versatility of the pseudologists which is stressed by all authors is certainly connected with their *pleasure of representation,* and their *ability to play every rôle.* It has also, however, a causal foundation in temperament in so far as, thanks to their hyperthymic elements, the pseudologists have a quick, strong, and mobile nature. To this there is to be added something more: fabrication and swindling are the mediums in which the pseudologists feel themselves at ease. The pseudologist is as proud of his pseudologistic accomplishment as the artist is of his work. On the basis of his delight in fabrication and of his artistic pride, a part of the security and versatility of the pseudologist's outer behavior may be explicable as a business necessity for him. An outwardly insecure swindler would have little prospect for success.

Like the fantastic in their fantasies, the braggarts in their bragging, the pseudologists can be carried away by their lying; that is a "process which in many cases bears the mark of a morbid excitement, an 'excitement in lying' " (Birnbaum). In this excitement it happens now and then that pseudologists lose the firm ground of reality from beneath their feet and temporarily give themselves up entirely to their pleasure of presentation, that is to the rôle which they have undertaken to play out.[111] With regard to this fact K. Schneider has said significantly: "It is indeed the same way with playing children—there is no sense in asking here whether they 'believe' that they are mother, teacher, or soldier." It was concerning just these questions regarding the pseudologists that psychiatrists used to rack their brains.

Hysterical personalities in general and pseudologists in particular stand in close relationship to asociality and antisociality. The *"hysterical habitual criminal"* (Birnbaum) is not particularly characterized by his criminality or by his criminal activity. Birnbaum demonstrates that pathological habitual criminals in large cities seldom lack hysterical traits. For the pseudologist his criminal course is laid out: it comprises the whole range from trifling deception to high-class swindling on the largest scale, finding expression with considerable results in frauds involving loans, insurance, marriage, decorations and titles, in soothsaying and quackery, etc. One of the greatest fraudulent adventurers of all times was the Sicilian Joseph Balsamo who called himself Count Cagliostro, the ideal picture of a fantastic pseudologistic swindler.

[111] From here to the "delusional imaginations of the degenerate" (Birnbaum) is but a short step.

Two special types of hysterical criminal, as I believe, are the *writers of anonymous letters* and the *poison mixers,* or rather female letter writers and poison mixers because we are dealing here with women but for a few exceptions. Both types have especially much in common with the so-called *"hysterical canaille."* This latter leads a double existence in that she represents outwardly the lovable, charming, helpful, and beneficent woman[112] of the world, tormenting at home her relatives and servants to the last degree, enjoying gossip and intrigue (false accusations, especially of sexual content), stealing for desire of sensation, and contracting debts. Correspondingly, the writers of anonymous letters[113] usually present outwardly a correct, often emphatically correct appearance, to which a strict observance of all the outer forms of piety frequently gives a particular stamp. They send their poisoned missives from out a sure secrecy giving free rein to their mendacity which is often enough fantastic. They win a double profit for their craving for prestige and for their pleasure of representation: on the one hand they pass as high-minded members of society and

[112] Among the personalities which devote themselves to public benefaction on a large scale there are to be found, in addition to many vain persons, numerous psychopaths with hysterical traits and not a few definitely hysterical personalities interested only in attaining prestige in the rôle of benefactor. Here one finds many hysterical "pseudo-compassionate" and "pseudo-kind" persons who are interested in the fate of their *protégés* only from the point of view of their own craving for prestige and sensation.

[113] Obviously we are considering here only those who habitually write anonymous letters. It is characteristic that among the hysterical anonymous, old maids, and others who are sexually unsatisfied, "sexually envious," are well represented. There is undoubtedly contained in the writing of anonymous letters, as in the mixing of poison, something of sexual surrogate behavior.

as such play themselves up, being at the same time often exaggeratedly benevolent and ready to help; on the other hand they assume the rôle of destiny, and so satisfy their hysterical desire for power.

In a still greater degree hysterical poison mixers lead this double life. Kraepelin, who lists them under the heading "impulsive insanity," together with the writers of anonymous letters, gives a description which is very appropriate to our schema of hysterical personalities: "In everyday life these creatures do not necessarily show any striking characteristics. They may be personally lovable, liberal, helpful, unctuous, bigoted and intellectually gifted. Their affective life is, however, usually a superficial and selfish one, they are usually vain and ambitious, inclining to insincerity, deceitfulness, fantasy, and malice." With trifling invisible means these poison mixers develop in the dark a horrible power. "Poison mixing is the frightful hidden weapon of the weak" (Kraepelin). Under certain circumstances they may break down with feigned sorrow before the corpse of their victims; the success of their acts however signifies for them a sadistic pleasure-gain which supposedly they seek consciously. It is just as little to be doubted that there is a masochistic coloring in their inclination to blissful assumption of the martyr's rôle when one has got a clue to them.[114] A fa-

[114] Reaching beyond this special type, sadistic and masochistic components play a considerable part in hysterical personalities. With the former it may be possible to bring into relationship all the torments which their narrower and broader environment has to suffer (from the refusal in hysterical flirtation [prostitutes of the "upper circles," Lombroso, quoted from Mörchen] to the success of the anonymous writings and poisonings). With masochistic components there is connected the hysterical inclination to delight in suffering which is evident in the "nervous suffering lady," which comes to fuller expression in the martyrdom of the ostensibly guiltless victim

mous poison mixer has been classically described by Anselm v. Feuerbach in his *Merkwürdige Verbrechen.* Because of the excellence of his description which presents the hysterical personality in plastic form, I cite a passage from Feuerbach's book:

Anna Margaretha Zwanziger had already reached her 50th year when she fell under the power of law. She was small of stature, thin, crooked and hunchbacked.

In her youth this criminal showed herself merely as a characterless coquettish being, with superficial education, eccentric from the reading of sentimental novels. She was without inner strength, driven about by the situation of the moment, now losing herself in sensual distraction and then sinking in vice, giving her body for money and so with her honor losing her self-respect and with this the support for her moral strength.

Through her vanity, which she called delicacy, she was drawn to the upper classes and compelled to conquer and to hold even those toward whom she felt no attraction. Later she was driven by necessity to flatter her way through a strange world by greeting many people with a friendly face; she was often repulsed and humiliated, and rarely gave free rein to the storm which raged within her. She was too restless to live independently on the work of her skilled hands in quiet seclusion, and still too proud to obey others as a servant; on this account she always endeavored servilely to anticipate the com-

of persecution, and comes to highest flower in the suffering of the hysterical stigmatists. In this connection one should not forget self-injuries among hysterics, and the hysterical passion for operations, a nice case of which Schultz has analyzed. Lange has spoken of a remarkable denial of the impulse to self-preservation in these hysterics. It may be said here concerning the suicidal attempts of hysterics that they usually arise from their desire to make an impression. Nevertheless occasionally they may end badly and certainly are now and then seriously intended. I may here refer to the remarks concerning the impulse-life of the hysteric; I did not go into the matter of sadism and masochism in order not to expand the presentation unnecessarily, and in order to avoid repetitions.

mands of her employers, or to make the commands impossible through surreptitious confidences. Always playing a rôle and constantly changing rôles; she was continually compelled to appear as other than she was, and she had to pay ultimately with her last remaining shred of truth and honesty of feeling for the art of adjusting and yielding to people. She became a false, malicious, deceitful, smooth-tongued, flattering hypocrite. She had no longer the slightest trait of truthfulness and sincerity, constantly dissimulating and in all things ambiguous or lying.

But with all this she felt herself to be an *unfortunate* creature, and the unhappiness cut all the threads in her which bind feeling to mankind and preserve the humanity of feeling. Persecuted by destiny, only too often through her own fault, but at the same time directly misled by her always active self-love, into ascribing every destroyed hope and every evil which she encountered purely to the wickedness and hardness of other persons, she accustomed herself to despise the human race and equally to hate it. Nourished through hatred and contempt for humanity, two monsters grew together in her dark soul into giant snakes: venomous envy and grim joy in others' misfortune (*Schadenfreude*).

But out of the labyrinth of her distorted life there led no customary way to freedom. Everywhere were moats which guarded the gates; within the limits of civil order there was nowhere to be found a certain means of help. Behold, the secret of a hidden power at last revealed itself of which she needed but to make use in order to glide over all mountains and abysses and on the other side of the hateful boundaries of limiting relationships, removed from the laws of civilian life and raised even beyond humanity itself with an invisible power to *rule freely* according to the dictates of her own will. This secret power was—*poison.*

Poison mixing and the giving of poison came thus to be a habitual occupation for her. Practiced in fun and in earnest, ultimately used with passion, not merely for the sake of its consequences but purely *for the sake of itself,* out of *love of poison,* out of pure joy of the mere doing in and for itself.

Examples

Meinrad Kel., born 1899, was a healthy child. Even at an early age he delighted in uniforms and wished to become a soldier. He became a Swiss guardsman in Rome, had an agreeable period of service; as such not much reflection was necessary, everything was arranged for him. A "handsome fellow" of leptosomic physique he looked and felt well in uniform. In his free time he occupied himself now and then as a sightseeing guide. He had few sexual adventures; occasionally he visited brothels. He had a Platonic friendship for some years and became engaged to the girl. He endeavored to become a policeman (uniform) in his native country because the Swiss guardsmen are not allowed to marry. He was lazy and found no position so that his fiancée withdrew. He then shot a bullet through his temple.

The traumatic amnestic syndrome with which he entered the clinic quickly disappeared, and the wound healed quickly. He was talkative, always telling about himself, and could not endure being alone. He talked colorfully, vividly, somewhat superficially and with many gestures. His mood was equally one of even cheerfulness and he was superficial in affect. He stood in constant need of stimulation and change. He was very conceited and enjoyed making himself important; he had a marked pride of rank and was foolish about uniforms.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomic.
Impulse-life: of slight strength, undifferentiated.
Temperament: tachythymic.
Character: egocentric with craving for prestige.

Kel. was not a hysterical personality in the strict sense even though he came close to this type, but was instead a primitive tachythymic person craving for prestige to whom his delight in uniforms gave a child-like stamp. He resembled a child who runs away from his game when it does not proceed according to his wishes. In this as in the following case there is a par-

ticularly clear development of attitudes which may be observed in hysterical personalities in complicated form and increased degree.

The 36-year-old servant girl, Mary Jo., had a strict father who did not allow her to play with other children. She was a quiet child forced early to earn her living as a shepherdess and became a housemaid at 14.

As such she was badly treated. On occasion if she caught cold she enjoyed the advantages of illness and soon developed hysterical attacks and began to stick needles into her breast, arms, and her left hand, and this to such a degree that syringomyelia was once diagnosed; in connection with appropriate examination and study on the part of the diagnostician concerned she began to complain of pains in her back and to lie with regard to her sensibility. She had never had any sexual relationships. In the clinic to which she came for an expert opinion, she showed herself a moron, plaintive, and affectively somewhat dull.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomic.
Impulse-life: weak in impulse.
Temperament: phlegmatic, dull.
Character: passive autistic (resentment), egocentric inclusion with a miserably primitive need for prestige. "Flight into disease" (hysterical attacks, self-injuries).

This case also is not a hysterical psychopath. I cite it here because it shows with great clarity attitudes and manifestations in a completely primitive person similar to those which occur in hysterical personalities.

The 39-year-old merchant's wife, Anna Ha., understated her age by 8 years. A maternal aunt was said to have died in an insane asylum, a stepsister was said to be mentally ill, and a stepbrother was said to have died by suicide.[115] She had two

[115] The information concerning heredity could not be verified.

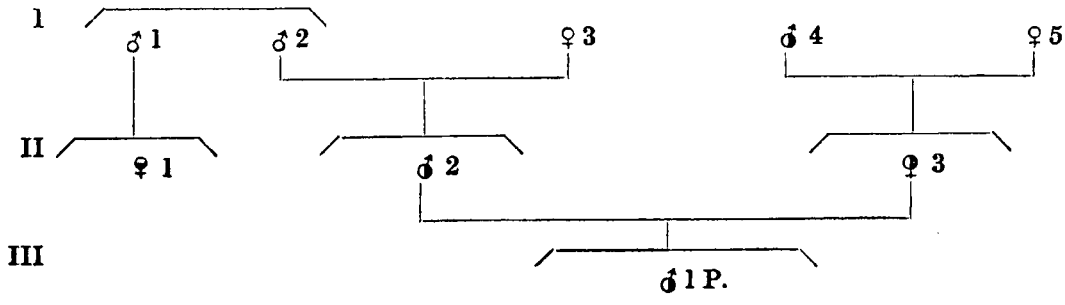
children about whom she minded as little as possible because that would make her nervous. She was always nervous, had always occupied herself with no one but herself and in particular with the care of her body. She rode, drove a motor and flirted. Intellectual interests she had never had. She was very excitable, tyrannical, and inconsiderate. When something failed to please her she said, "On my word of honor, I refuse to do it," with which the matter was closed so far as she was concerned because she would never break her word of honor. She made her home a hell for the children, the servants, and for her somewhat miserable husband, who feared her and whom she tortured with her jealousy. In order to give emphasis to her numerous immoderate wishes with regard to her husband she ran from one doctor to another with all kinds of nervous complaints. She was frigid. Three days before the menstruation, which was regular, she always showed an increased excitability. Her behavior bore the mark of vanity, coquetry, and the desire to please. She was childishly stubborn, deceitful, empty, stupid, and pedantic. She was born in Bavaria, in poor circumstances and had always lived at home, but she attempted to put on the manner of the "grand lady," declaring herself to be a Hungarian (her husband was a Hungarian) and spoke with an affected foreign accent.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomic-pyknic mixed type.
Impulse-life: weak in impulse (intersexual factors?).
Temperament: excitable, poor in affect (misopedia).
Character: egocentric, insecure, with overcompensation, extreme need for prestige ("cold-hearted tyrant").
Hysterical personality (perhaps schizoid); type of the "hysterical canaille."

Were this woman more intellectually active and not entirely without fantasy she would come fairly near to the type of degenerate women of high society (Mörchen).

Rudolf Ler., born 1905



I, 1: humorous, poetic.

I, 2: jovial, man of the world, friendly.

I, 3: 80-year-old woman of alluring charm, still very interested, vivacious.

I, 4: gifted, suicide.

I, 5: soft.

II, 1: memory defect.

II, 2: actor with mediocre talent and great need for prestige, in youth, offenses against property, sexually rather active.

II, 3: sentimentalist, soft, "very sexual," literary, intelligent.

III, 1: Rudolf grew up between his two parents who had become divorced through mutual fault. He began to steal early in life in order to make a sensation, later he both stole and swindled; even as a schoolboy he was deceitful and fantastic. From his 10th year on he masturbated and beginning at this time he wet the bed for years. In an educational institution he was actively and passively homosexual and then entered into heterosexual intercourse which he carried to excess. He was once suspected of having assaulted a girl who was a minor. He went through a series of educational institutions uninfluenced. He was always set upon making a scene. Through dexterity and great power of persuasion he was able to make a considerable impression on many people, especially women, and from this he exploited unscrupulously.

In the clinic (he came under observation) at first he tried to maintain a haughty attitude, was cynical, "ethically anesthetic," cool, and unscrupulous. He spoke bombastic rhetoric

in a theatrical and pathetic manner with the corresponding gestures, considering the effect of each word and gesture, and intoxicating himself with the magnanimity of his thoughts. His letters also, in which he frequently assumed a sentimental tone, were full of high sounding phrases. He was tremendously conceited, boastful, deceitful, and of vivid imagination. Intellectually he was skilful with outer forms but without depth. He depreciated both his father, whom he characterized as insincere and not particularly intelligent, and his mother to whom he ascribed blame for the divorce. He palliated his own behavior. When his past history was objectively held before him he attempted to make an impression by apparently perfect honesty and knowledge of himself.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic, lanky.
Impulse-life: impulsively strong, sexually uninhibited, homosexual elements.
Temperament: tachythymic, poor in affect.
Character: egocentric, extreme craving for prestige (acting, pseudology).
Social: asocial.
Hysterical psychopath (pseudologist).[116]

The divorcée, Fanny S., was born in 1858. Physically she was predominantly pyknic. She was spoiled at home, studied well. From her 13th year on she had suffered from "pains in her head" and later she developed disturbances of sleep and cardiac and gastric complaints. Even as a child she was "always dissatisfied." She menstruated first in her 17th year; the menstruation was irregular until the menopause about which no particular information was given. At the age of 17 she was married against her will. The marriage was unhappy from the beginning. The husband, an eccentric, left her much alone. She had five children. In 1894 her husband suffered financial

[116] I will refrain from giving further case histories here of pseudologists since excellent examples of such cases have been frequently published in detail by Delbrück, Göring, Wenger-Kunz, Wendt, and others.

collapse (banker), and the father of the patient rushed to the rescue. At his death the patient separated herself from her husband and later got her divorce. She lived at first uncomfortably and then increased her resources by getting into debt and swindling. In 1902 she was exculpated on account of mental weakness ("hysteria") and put under guardianship. Then she was for ten years in a mental hospital: she complained of pruritus, flickering, globus hystericus, indigestion, constipation, sleeplessness, made trouble for all the doctors and became a Catholic. After this she was a private nurse in a military hospital during the war. In 1920 she stole old clothes, because of need as she said at first, but "because of morbid impulses" which she claimed later. Again exculpated, she returned to a mental hospital where she is at present.

She is pretentious, excitable, has all kinds of physical complaints and a great need of medicine. She is tearful, "suffering." She knows how to get all sorts of advantages for herself, very cleverly makes the patients in her ward indebted to her, and has a great squad of the patients devoted to her service. She is talkative and likes to tell stories. She complains about being disregarded and offended. She is skilful, experienced, and well-read. Occasionally she is morose, irritable, weepy, ill-humored; then she looks badly. But even when she looks and feels well she has a thousand complaints. She is unclean. Brought to the observation ward for those in need of constant care on account of hypertension, angina pectoris, and signs of congestion, she played the martyr and well understood how to exploit her physical condition. She has the greatest compassion for herself. She is exactly informed about everything that occurs in the hospital. She is extremely intriguing and plays the persons in her vicinity against each other in a masterly fashion. She has never bothered about anybody but herself.

Structural analysis:

Physique: predominantly pyknic now old and physically sick).

Impulse-life: weak in impulse.

Temperament: excitable, tachythymic, poor in affect.

Character: egocentric, craving for prestige, deceitful, intriguing.
Social: asocial.
Hysterical psychopath ("intriguing martyr").

The single former waitress, Mary Zan., born 1866, described herself as the child of "two high personalities" as "victim to complicated family circumstances," because not her father but another noble lover of her very excitable, unscrupulous mother had owned her as his child. Her maternal grandfather was a well-to-do, easy-going, serious man; her maternal grandmother was simple, serious, and capable. Some of the female members of the family were said to be strikingly beautiful and to have made use of this quality "in high circles." One sister seemed to have successfully employed herself as a matchmaker. Mary was mistreated by her mother at an early age, was a sickly child whose bringing up left much to be desired. She claimed that at the age of 5 years she entered the ballet school of an opera and from her 14th year on was for many years with the shows. She said that she lost her maidenhood at the age of 30 but had had little sexual intercourse, although very cheerful; even later as a waitress in a barroom she had never admitted intimacy. In 1900 she gave birth to a child which died shortly. As a waitress (of 40–50 years) she drank rather a good deal. On account of swindling and fits of excitement with acts of violence against her lover (jealousy), 1914–18 she was being repeatedly brought into the clinic. In 1918 she was brought to the mental hospital where she has been since.

She appears humble and ingratiating but is harassing and scolding behind people's backs. She scolds and quarrels constantly, often in the most vulgar manner until she trembles and gets pale. She is "on the one hand a perfect devotee and on the other a great intriguer." She plays the part of a distinguished, educated, delicate person, but is always domineering, tyrannical, disobedient, impetuous, snappish, can become boorish, and blubber injuredly. She makes some money by fortune telling. She is incorrigibly quarrelsome, nagging, and

jealous. She is coquettish, approaches the physicians in the erotic attitude of a prostitute, and appears "bare-shouldered" in the hospital gown. With little eagerness for work she is nevertheless busy and fond of writing. What she writes is marked by a stiff bombastic style, persistent reiteration of sentences, and frequent underlinings. She has the "desire to play a part and an unbounded self-complacency paired with heartlessness with regard to her fellow patients. She is a great actress, she knows how to play all rôles from cringing to arrogant insolence, all in order to win certain advantages for herself. She has a high opinion of herself, swindles, lies, deceives, sometimes with cold calculation, sometimes with visible enjoyment."[117] She is of pyknic physique and with considerable physical illness (cardiac insufficiency, congestive symptoms, uterine hemorrhage), and of brilliant coloring.

Structural analysis:

Physique: pyknic.

Impulse-life: probably strong in impulse, perhaps intersexual elements (the information concerning her sexual life is not to be considered on account of the patient's lack of veracity).

Temperament: excitable, irritable, hypomanic, quarrelsome, poor in affect.

Character: egocentric, extreme craving for prestige, deceptive, intriguing.

Hysterical personality (quarrelsome, intriguing pseudologist).

The case certainly stands in close relationships to the pyknic-cycloid constitution.

7. *Hypochondriacal Psychopaths*

Hypochondriacal attitudes and behavior are very widespread. In suggested and generally transitory

[117] The quoted sentences are taken from the history of the mental hospital.

form one finds them in connection with physical illnesses within the range of health.[118] Frequently they occur in psychoses in syndromal form, preferably in depressive conditions in every clinical connection.[119] They are usually in both cases the expression of an ill-humored depressive mood which is frequently colored by anxiety and irritability. The increased preoccupation with the ego proceeding from the physical or psychic disease leads to a lessened capacity for accomplishment, which is then projected into the physical. Finally the hypochondriacal attitude means, so to speak, an exculpation of the personality for the supposedly or actually diminished capacity for accomplishment toward itself and toward the environment.

The assumption of a distinct illness, "hypochondria," was rightly given up some time ago. Still there remains a remnant of the old concept of "hypochondria" which is neither taken up in the normal range nor can be portioned out among the psychoses in syndromal form. This includes those psychopathic personalities whose attitude toward life and whose conduct stand more or less under the caption of hypochondria. Even if they do not represent a completely unified group, as was shown in the chapter concerning the dysthymic, nevertheless they include a central group of hypochondriacal types in the strict sense which justi-

[118] In the psychically healthy also the gains from illness play a transitory rôle. It is not entirely unpleasant to be withdrawn now and then from the difficulties of the daily life with all its cares and responsibilities, on account of a physical illness, and so to enjoy being nursed and cared for, and the return of strength in convalescence.

[119] Hypochondriacal melancholics are frequently observed. Excessive hypochondriacal syndromes occur frequently in the beginning and during many years of schizophrenia.

fies a short discussion in the present context. It should be emphasized, however, that hypochondriacal traits occur in the most varied psychopathic personalities.

That psychopathic hypochondriacal behavior means an *evasion of life* is beyond doubt. It is only necessary to think of those "nervous" persons, who after weary accomplishment of their usually not at all important daily labor, withdraw into their domiciles in order to rest, care for themselves, and allow themselves to be cared for. If one seeks the causal foundation in the physical one will scarcely be able to make out a unified physical type, but will be able to say nevertheless that it is a matter of slight physical turgor which conditions in them a ready fatigability. This remains with them all their lives because they are disinclined toward every physical exertion and all training.

To the deficient physical turgor corresponds an *impulse-life* which is *weak* or at least *not strong*. The sex impulse in particular shows itself weakly. These hypochondriacs assert that as a result of their "disease" their sex impulse is diminished.[120] The actual state of affairs is however that their sex impulse was feeble from the start and that they finally draw their deficient appetite into their hypochondriacal behavior.[121] In others the hypochondriacal attitude is related exclu-

[120] Here the frequent hypochondriacal manifestation in masturbators is to be remembered with whom wrong enlightenment, particularly the reading of those ill-reputed books of sexual enlightenment, must always find a soil favorably prepared for hypochondria to accomplish its full effect.

[121] It is certain that a latent homosexuality may occasionally be concealed behind the hypochondriacal evasion from sexuality. In favor of this is the often stressed hatred of women displayed by many hypochondriacs whose entire attention is devoted to digestion and defecation. In them the participation of "anal erotic" components cannot be disputed.

sively to their sexuality, the weakness of which they thus make obvious enough (sexual hypochondriacs).

Concerning the *temperament* of hypochondriacal psychopaths something has been said in the discussion of the ill-humored dysthymics, and their combinations with the excitable, irritable, anxious, and gloomy. In this place also reference was made to the fact that "the pure ill-humored type are markedly ego-concerned." Indeed hypochondriacal psychopaths with their lacking turgor, with their weakness in impulse and with their peculiar temperamental dispositions, are predestined to have an *increased ego-inclination.* In their insecurity and passivity and in their anxiety regarding the efforts which the environment demands from them, they are flying from the environment (hypochondriacal flight into illness). They occupy themselves constantly with the protection of their own ego, tend to be resentful toward the "healthy" and limit themselves in their relationships toward the environment essentially to the expectation and demanding of indulgence, consideration, and care.[122] Although there exist here all the essential features of the *passive autistic character* it is nevertheless not to be forgotten that many hypochondriacs are characterized by obvious traits of an *egocentric desire for prestige:* the hypochondriacal behavior may become the very instrument of the desire for prestige. Connected with this is the fact that hysterical personalities occasionally like to make use of hypochondriacal manifestations, and that conversely hysterical manifestations and hysterical "theatricals" are extensively used by hypochondriacs.

"Hypochondriasm" is frequently cultivated by im-

[122] In a "well-regulated life," regulated in all its details, which is led by many hypochondriacs, a marked pedantry is often noticeable which may have occasionally an anancastic coloring.

prudent psychopathic parents and educators. Nevertheless only a very few children, and among them only those that have a particular predisposition, maintain their "early hypochondria." This, however, under certain circumstances they learn to use very purposefully. Usually the hypochondriacal character becomes evident when life makes its demands, particularly after the psychopathic personality has suffered some particular failures in its life or, as a result of particularly impressive experiences (sickness, especially lues), has had its attention directed in an exaggerated degree toward its body and toward the threatening of its physical health with which it is always concerned early in life[123] (narcism).

The marked hypochondriacal attitude and elaboration of experience become manifest in the majority of cases at the *prime of life,* or somewhat beyond it. Certainly it combines here with the effect of the beginning and the progress of physiological regressive processes. The involutional and the regressive period is the time at which the hypochondriacal attitudes and developments[124] most frequently occur. The aging person is as a result of the changes which are normally accomplished in his body and psyche, and not least because of the shifting of accent which occurs in his impulse-life, inclined to pay great attention to his physical. In many persons even the fear of old age acquires a hypochondriacal coloring; they discover, together with the increase of their gray hairs, or the falling out of their hair, one new sign of age after another, the significance of which they greatly overestimate. It is thus not surprising that in the presence of the appropriate pre-

[123] In the determination of hypochondriacal contents, organ inferiority is doubtlessly significant.

[124] Cf. the psychopathic courses.

disposition psychopathic hypochondriacal manifestations flourish to a particular extent and intensity with the later years. They may occasionally assume actually grotesque forms. In all this unskilled medical advice—for example, information concerning increased blood pressure and arteriosclerosis—may often lend the most undesirable aid which may for years deprive the person concerned of all the joy of life (Bumke).

As depressive elements of temperament generally play a great rôle in aging persons, they are particularly important in the development of hypochondriacal manifestations. There are however in the earlier years, but most frequently in midlife and later, hypochondriacal personalities whose hypochondria is only a screen which is placed before their constitutional depression in order to conceal their gloomy mood toward the outer world as well as toward their own consciousness and insight. In these hypochondriacal depressive psychopaths there are times in which their gloomy mood becomes lighter, or even now and then disappears entirely; at such times their hypochondriacal complaints also recede into the background or may temporarily disappear entirely. It is obvious that no sharp boundaries can be drawn between the nervous and physical complaints of psychopaths of the depressive type.

Examples

Gustav Klu. was a single, retired army doctor, of 60 years. He was a small man of predominantly pyknic physique with strikingly small and delicate extremities. He appeared aged before his time. His skin was withered and flabby. His father died in a condition of arteriosclerotic dementia. As a child he was anxious, and he had always remained anxious. He had difficulty with study. As an army doctor he had no particular difficulty. In 1919 he retired. Sexually he had been very moder-

ately active, he gave up all sexual intercourse when at the age of 34 he observed an erosion of his penis which he judged to be luetic. He excised the erosion and cauterized the site of excision in which a short time after he felt an induration. He then excised this also. A dermatologist whom he then consulted found no evidence of syphilis. Klu. for three years thoroughly examined his body daily for secondary manifestations. The constant fear of lues undermined him. Thoughts, doubts, and scruples tortured him continually. He considered himself as inferior from the start and arrived at the thought that he had had a hydrocephalus as a boy. During his mediocre professional progress he separated himself from others. He was constantly tortured by the fear of lues.

Finally he came to the clinic because he thought he was paralytic. The Wassermann reaction and his serum were negative and there were no signs of general paresis.

Structural analysis:

Physique: prematurely aged, flabby, pyknic, small, with leptosomic factors.
Impulse-life: weak in impulse.
Temperament: anxious with sensitive elements.
Character: passive autistic (marked insecurity).

The single colonel, Frederick Grunth, born 1872, was of leptosomic, lank, elastic build with pyknic traits. His father who had died at the age of 70 of apoplexy, had been hard, pedantic, hot-tempered, inclined to nervous indigestion and was always afraid of being compelled to go to the toilet when he was invited out. He drank the purgative water of a certain mineral spring all his life. He had the ambition to have particularly well-bred children and brought them up very strictly. The patient received many whippings and lived in constant fear. His mother was inclined to hysterical attacks and died of apoplexy at a considerable age. A sister of the mother "went wrong." The two brothers of Grunth were always bothered by their stomachs. He himself had always had an "intestinal weakness." Staying after school at the age of 7 he defecated in his trousers. As a child he had nervous twitchings of the face. He

got along fairly well at school and then became an officer. He was a very pedantic worker. He worked according to exactly arranged schedules. He had a good career, he was in the office of the Secretary of War. During the war he was two and a half years on the staff. He liked office work because it allowed him always to go to the toilet. Before every march, conference, or social occasion he took opium in order to be assured against surprises from his intestines. The fear that he should not be able to go out at the right moment tortured him frightfully. He was a very unpleasant superior. Now and then he had to get up at night in order to be sure the light was turned off. In society he always had to look to be sure that his trousers were buttoned. In 1922 he retired. Contrary to his expectation his condition became worse. He observed uninterruptedly his intestinal action. He thought that he had an inguinal rupture, developed palpitation, anxiety, "tensions" in his head.

After defecation he always felt better. He allowed himself to be frequently treated by physicians, and took much medicine. In 1924 he had a hemorrhoid operation but the consequent improvement in his condition did not last long. He had arm supports made in his toilet in order to sit on the stool more comfortably. He became increasingly restless and in 1925 hunted up a clinic in which he stayed three years. He was in an ill-humored, anxious mood, frequently irritable, and always nagging. He complained continually of his illness and daily supplied more detailed information concerning his intestinal activity. He reported that earlier he had dreamed much of going to the toilet, and of flying, when he had smoked before sleeping. He thought a good deal about the fact that he had masturbated excessively for years and might thus have injured himself. He said unconvincingly that he was first enlightened sexually when he was a cornet in the army and then after the first visit to a brothel, to which he had been taken by others. He claimed that he had had much sexual intercourse and "made considerable use of women." On account of his intestinal condition he had never married. From his 50th year onward his libido was as good as snuffed out. In the clinic he re-

mained, every day in the year, in his ill-humored hypochondriacal mood, observed his vegetative functions to the smallest detail, and incessantly maintained that he was physically ill and that there were adhesions in his intestines. He was never satisfied with his defecation. When he began to take short walks he arranged his clothes so that he could quickly go to the toilet and acquired exact knowledge concerning the location of public toilets. In all this he continued in his incessant hypochondriacal complaints and occasionally to the question concerning his health he would answer: "I am sorry I am fairly well." Although less downcast he remained nevertheless ill-humored, nagging and quarrelsome as he had been before. He was constantly quarreling with the nurses as he had quarreled with his housekeeper when she had not exactly paid regard to his grotesque pedantry. Occasionally he spoke readily concerning his remarkable military service and his formerly unusual intellectual and physical capacities. Slight vacillations of mood were always to be observed. Even in the clinic he undertook, on his own, numerous cures in accordance with newspaper advertisements. The necessary visit to the dentist tortured him because he feared that a female person might open the door for him and at that instant he would defecate. He led a more than comfortable life, got up late, walked, and went to bed early. Aside from newspapers and magazines he read little. He divided his time according to his own pleasure, consideration of others was outside his ken.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomic, pyknic elements (constitutional tendency toward intestinal spasms, organ inferiority).

Impulse-life: said to be entirely as it should be, but probably with little strength and surety.

Temperament: excitable, irritable, ill-humored, cool, with poikilothymic elements.

Character: passive autistic, egocentric traits, overcompensation.

Hypochondriacal psychopath with anancastic traits ("toilet hypochondriac").

In this case the hypochondriacal development of a personality undoubtedly constitutionally hypochondriacal, is particularly clear. *Anlage* and education determine directly the personality and its life. In the involutional period and after giving up his profession the hypochondriacal manifestations increase, becoming ultimately almost the exclusive life-content, and thus legitimatizing the rejection of all activity and of all interest in others.

The 36-year-old single merchant, Martin Ras., was a bald-headed, small man of moderate build and pyknic physique. His father, who died of apoplexy, was an easy-going man and his mother, a proud woman. He had done well in school. In 1914–15 he was slightly wounded and partially buried on the battlefield. Since this time he had had dizziness, headache, rheumatism and intestinal difficulties. He was discharged from military service with a compensation. From 1916 onward he had occupied 18 different positions because, on account of headache, difficulty in concentration, difficulty in defecation, backaches and cold feet, he had to give each one up. At the age of 17 he had begun to masturbate; this increased after he—as he claimed because of the circumstances—was unable to marry the girl whom he had wished to marry. From his 20th year he had had intercourse with prostitutes several times; but he continued to masturbate. Once every year he masturbated twice in succession because after one act some desire still remained. He noticed that people no longer respected him, that he was insulted, it was said "he masturbates and has intercourse with no one." Frauds were ascribed to him with regard to which he had a guilty conscience. He was lively, voluble, easily hurt when he thought that he was not sufficiently believed. Behind his artificial self-assertion inner insecurity was evident. He was markedly cheerful but gave this up when he realized that he was understood. He complained that his defecations were bad, that his penis and scrotum hung down too far and too flabbily, that his penis swelled up at night. He

spoke readily and with pleasure about masturbation. He wanted to get a higher compensation from the government.

Structural analysis:

Physique: small pyknic.
Impulse-life: psychosexually infantile, masturbator.
Temperament: moderately tachythymic, sensitive.
Character: predominantly passive autistic, egocentric elements, overcompensation.
Hypochondriacal psychopath with sensitive ideas of reference (masturbation).

The case shows the simultaneous presence and interaction of hypochondriacal and sensitive factors in a person who is psychosexually infantile.

8. *Quarrelsome Psychopaths* (Eristhitic, Quarrelsome, and Litigious)

The temperament of the quarrelsome has been discussed in the chapter concerning the dysthymic.[125] Here we must consider their total personality structure.

Concerning the total physical habitus it is impossible to make any generalization. In a certain type of hypothymic and hypomanic quarrelsome the pyknic physique may predominate, due to its relationship to the pyknic-cycloid constitution. Not infrequently organ inferiority plays a rôle.

The *impulse-life* of these very active personalities is not usually particularly strong, even signs of weakness and uncertainty are to be recognized.[126] *Hyperthymic components* are never entirely lacking and are even very considerable in the majority of cases. It is easily

[125] Cf. p. 187.

[126] In this connection reference should be made to the frequent markedly unsociable and quarrelsome behavior of the years of adolescence.

intelligible that the signs of weakness and uncertainty in impulse in coöperation with the hyperthymic components will readily express themselves finally in overcompensatory formations. Nevertheless it would be going too far to try to explain and understand quarrelsomeness exclusively on the basis of overcompensation. A *sensitive temperamental element* is never lacking in the quarrelsome, with all the gradual variations of the hyperthymic traits. In the individual types the sensitive element is developed in various degrees but it is always present.

From the combination of hyperthymic (irritability) and sensitive factors there results the *inner tension,* the readiness of restraint and discharge which are the causal basis of the constant conflicts of the quarrelsome with their environment. Kraepelin writes of them: "They are characterized by a boundless unsociability and quarrelsomeness which leads to incessant discords with the environment and allows every friction to grow to an endless bitter struggle." The unsociability of the quarrelsome obviously contains another dysthymic component, affective coolness, *poverty of affect.* This also occurs in them in varying degrees; there are quarrelsome individuals, particularly of hypomanic make-up, in whom a certain warmth of affect is not to be denied. But even in these the warmth is usually not very considerable and is generally limited to a relatively narrow group of persons with whom, furthermore, in spite of the existent dependence, they may get along very poorly. The more or less marked poverty of affect excludes to a high degree a closer understanding of others and any entering into others' interests, or even warm-hearted understanding of foreign affective needs.

Hence on the final side there exists an obvious ad-

justment of the *system of purposes* to the own personality. The quarrelsome are predominantly *egocentric; active autistic traits* occur in them, however, very frequently, and occasionally make their appearance in considerable proportions. They are entirely inclined to themselves and this is true even when they insist most urgently that their struggle is dedicated only to a principle. In this there is to be sure a kernel of truth in so far as they are able to identify the principle completely with themselves—not like really objective persons who identify themselves with the principle—for from the final point of view their quarrelsomeness, their dogmatism, becomes a *tool for their craving for prestige.* While the really objective person disappears behind the principle, the subjective quarrelsome steps in front of what he maintains or represents. He labors actually and exclusively under the motto: *mea res agitur.* With the desire for prestige of the quarrelsome, with his tendency to enhance his self-value, there is closely coupled a tendency to depreciate others: the other person must always be wrong; "I am right!" In this way one may understand the nagging, the fault-finding, the dogmatism, and the delight in contradiction of the quarrelsome, particularly their extreme unteachableness which Bostroem occasionally designated as "a more autochthonous uninfluenceability." Actually these quarrelsome persons not only *will* not but also *cannot* allow themselves to be influenced or convinced. They approach men and things in an active and cool, egocentric and autistic manner, stick to their attitude and opinion, and are forced, almost compulsively, to project the overvaluation of their own person into the matter concerned. So they must arrive at the formation of overvalences, that is, of overvalued ideas. Eventually as a result of their sensitive restraint they cannot get

rid of their overvalued contents unless their activity and mobility (tachythymic, euphoric, hypomanic components) make it possible for them to change the "topic" quickly.

From the foregoing remarks three types of quarrelsome, which have long been well known, may be deduced. Between them there exist numerous transitional forms and all quarrelsome have many connections with other psychopathic types.

As *eristhics*[127] may be designated those habitually quarrelsome persons, in whom the irritable-quarrelsome temperament is combined with an egocentric character and active autistic traits. They are frequently energetic and stubborn, value themselves highly, are dogmatic, unscrupulous, and active, and this never without sensitiveness. "It is certain" writes Kraepelin, "that the association of sensitivity with unscrupulousness and presumption entangles these patients in frequent struggles and difficulties with their environment. Numerous misunderstandings and squabblings develop which gradually heap up a whole army of complications." These eristhics belong partially among the constitutionally irritable of the manic depressive group. The vacillations of mood to be observed in some of them (poikilothymic elements) are particularly to be regarded as manic depressive manifestations.

The *euphoric (hypomanic) quarrelsome,* the hyperthymic quarrelsome of Kurt Schneider, are to be distinguished from the eristhics who are frequently entirely without humor, by a peculiar trend in their vivacity and by their humor. They take tremendous delight in quarreling and this may go so far that they en-

[127] A term used by Kraepelin.

gage in quarreling in general as a sort of sport, and occasionally take neither themselves nor their quarrelsomeness seriously. They have been occasionally termed "pseudo-litigious" (*Pseudo-querulanten*). In contradistinction to the eristhics they can be at least outwardly entirely sociable people. In their industry they like to busy themselves with many things at the same time and these things are in nowise exclusively controversial matters and law businesses. In lawsuits they frequently make a great show of discussion and documents and a very inexact knowledge of the legal points involved, corresponding to their mobility and superficiality, and they like to carry processes and suits in a perfunctory way.

The *litigious or litigious psychopaths* have much in common with the eristhics and may remind one strongly of the euphoric quarrelsomes in so far as they have tachythymic and euphoric and sometimes hypomanic temperamental traits. Poikilothymic elements also occur among them. From the two other types they are separated on principle by the circumstance that they build up overvalued ideas with a particular readiness on the basis of peculiar experiences and are not able to free themselves from the overvalued idea once it is conceived. What was previously said concerning the quarrelsome's self-overvaluation and undervaluation of others under the motto, *mea res agitur,* is strikingly true for them. Litigiousness becomes their life content after it is set going by an experience; we are concerned here with experiences of real as well as of supposed legal injury.[128] Under the influence of active

[128] The formula "real or supposed legal injury" may be fairly generally used. Nevertheless it seems to me from the impression which I have gathered from a great number of documents, that in psychiatric expert opinion, sufficient consideration is not always

autistic character components they sometimes conduct ultimately a battle against the whole world in which for them "an appreciation of all other values may be lost" (Lange). It is remarkable that fundamentally it is certainly not for them a question of law and justice, as they insist and usually like to make themselves believe. On the contrary they fight for the sake of being right, that is, for the sake of putting others in the wrong, whether individuals or an organization, an authority, or the state; and they try to satisfy their desire for prestige in this fight.

One should not overlook the fact that in the litigious as in the eristhitic, and in the euphoric quarrelsome, the individual personalities may have different structures and their intelligence, in which there is frequently displayed a peculiar manner of thinking with a marked inclination to pettifogging, may be of very great significance. It may be emphasized again that there is by no means an extremely developed feeling for right[129]

given to that which in the experiences and assertions of the litigious corresponds to the facts. For this reason I think the diagnosis "litigious delusion" (*Querulantenwahn*) is made too frequently in such situations. A person need not be a litigious in the strict sense and still less need he be a delusional litigious because he is wrong concerning his claims. Conversely, a person may be right in many points on a matter or lawsuit and nevertheless he may be a litigious or even a litigious insane.

[129] To the "feeling for right" (*Rechtsgefühl*) there belongs not only a feeling for what is right and correct but also an insight into the necessity of legal norms which are made by men and so must be in a certain degree inadequate. From an understanding of the necessity of these norms there results in single cases that under certain circumstances individual interests occasionally must give place to the interests of the community. Here is the Achilles' heel in the feeling for right of the litigious person. His "feeling for right" is composed of formal knowledge and pedantic interpretation of legal documents and the egocentric autistic wish to be right.

which leads the quarrelsome, and especially the litigious, to litigation. As a result of their personal peculiarity they are inevitably brought into conflict with the environment, and this conflict receives its litigious content from their peculiarity. In some sense all these persons are more or less asocial; their asociality is incorporated in their system of purposes, in the litigious struggle against the community and its institutions. Sometimes the circumstances may have a determining influence on the further development of the litigious, particularly if one fails to deal with them in the appropriate manner. But much more than any circumstance, the stubbornness of the litigious frequently prevents their finishing a single lawsuit within decades or even within a lifetime. Their autistic stubbornness does not allow them to accept a judgment or verdict which is directed against them; as a result of this stubbornness they are unable to admit that another might be right. Here it may be observed that in the course of a lawsuit which is growing more and more complicated, it is impossible for the judges and courts to avoid all formal mistakes which again increase the litigious' protests and complaints. Wetzel has shown this in his excellent description of Baron Hausen. In the description of this unique case is displayed the essence of the classical litigious psychopathic personality. Baron Hausen was an unusually intelligent man of great juristic gifts and education. He was very busy and affectively cool and had certain vacillations of mood (poikilothymic elements). His extreme pedantry was expressed very strikingly in endless details. His ego-concern (egocentricity, active autistic elements, overcompensation) was enormous. Wetzel says: "Opposed to the plus in the realm of purely logical juristic intellect there existed a surprising minus of psychological understand-

ing." Literal exactitude assumes now and then in the litigious, as obviously also in Baron Hausen, an almost compulsive coloring. Here relationships to the anancasts may be seen. That the sensitive dogmatists which were under discussion in the preceding section show a close kinship to the litigious is beyond question. At least a part of them can be numbered among the litigious, and they are constantly in danger of falling into litigious reactions and developments. On the other hand from the realm of the genuine psychopathic litigious those hypomaniacs and chronic maniacs are to be distinguished whose litigious attitude and activity represents essentially a hypomanic or manic symptom; they have certain relationships to the euphoric (hypomanic) quarrelsome. To be sure in individual cases this distinction may be difficult or even impossible.[130]

It has always been striking that most of the quarrelsome are men. This may have a foundation in the peculiar structure of quarrelsome personalities which generally is not characteristic of the woman, but on the other hand certain social factors are determinative: the woman is less exposed in public and thus protected from many conflicts which the man cannot avoid. Owing to their social situation the antisociability of many women and their desire to quarrel exhaust themselves *intra muros*. The relation of the quarrelsome to the hysterical woman should be mentioned.

Examples

Martin Wo., a small asthenic old man, born 1854, had a malicious, nagging mother. From his earliest years he had been exceedingly egotistical and jealous and felt himself slighted by his parents and brothers and sisters. He learned with difficulty

[130] The litigious delusion falls outside the range of our consideration dealing with the psychopathic personalities.

and then became a "sculptor," that is he was a craftsman in petty plastic art. In regard to education and accomplishment he was never recognized either officially or semiofficially as an artist and this with right.

He married at 26, was unsociable and licentious, took little trouble with his family, which he deserted in his 43d year to live with a paramour. He returned from time to time to his wife for money and developed artistic plans which he never carried out. She died in 1919.

Busy, ruthless, lazy, quarrelsome, he got mixed up in a mass of lawsuits following his separation from the family on account of failure to pay rent, neglect to deliver goods punctually, and because he had demanded too large gratuities. He complained frequently indeed on the basis of consciously untrue evidence about orders supposedly given and then unjustifiably withdrawn. Later he sued his grown-up son on the question of support, and various persons because of perjury. Before the court he appeared proud, represented himself as a deserted, helpless man and well-known artist. He demanded support as an artist without being able to show a single work of his own. He swore at all the judges and lawyers, maintained that he was always sentenced though he was not guilty. By power of speech and writing he succeeded again and again in convincing individuals of the integrity of his case. He entered into an increasing number of suits and after a complete economic downfall he refused energetically to be taken into a home for the aged.

He apprehended quickly and accompanied his flowing and verbose explanations with lively mimicry and gestures. In appearance and bearing he gave the impression of an actor, had an artist's haircut, was euphoric, with marked self-reliance, constantly in protest and in the mood of battle, had a quick repartee, was dishonest, somewhat fantastic, exaggeratedly polite and therewith irritable, aggressive, spiteful; the others were always to blame.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic, now senile.

Impulse-life: earlier not demonstrably striking.
Temperament: tachythymic, irritable, poor in affect.
Character: egocentric with considerable overcompensations.
Eristhic.

Catherine Karle, born 1864, was a somewhat lean predominantly pyknic and robust woman with masculine traits and appeared in blooming health. Her father was hot-tempered, and irascible. She was punished at the age of 12 for thieving, a few years later on account of prostitution, deception, and again for thieving. She was a servant girl. In 1883 she went to South America where she claimed to have married a South American in 1889. Later this gave occasion for investigation of her citizenship which had not yet been decided. The patient claimed to have become rich in Brazil as a general insurance agent and by speculation. "When I was over there I had worked up by my beauty and cleverness as well as by self-conscious striving to wealth and independence." She claimed to have invented "a universal tonic of Madame de Karle"; making use of this she was in Paris and London in 1893 and on this occasion she bought shares of a Syrian Turkish Railway Company which later liquidated. On account of her shares she brought suit for years and still registered a claim for compensation against the German government. In 1896 she was again in London and then settled in the Railway center in Buheim (Southern Germany) in order to profit from her "tonic industry." She built a house which she called Castle Rio. In Buheim she appeared as mistress of the castle, striking, extravagant, and irritating so that the mood of the inhabitants turned against her. Rumors went about that she had her wealth from an earlier lover, or from the management of a brothel. They made sport of her and she gave back what she got with interest. From 1903–25 she was actively and passively implicated in 61 criminal charges and 108 civil suits (including the interdiction).

She let her dogs run about freely and they did damage on all sides. She unlawfully used the titles (Madame de Karle, Countess Karle); quarreled with the Railway Treasury, wrote

a great number of complaints of injury and claims which she often—and occasionally with success—carried to the supreme court. Finally she maintained that her rights were being infringed upon and her industry made impossible out of which of course there was never much to be made. She said that people had taken away her civic honor. She gesticulated without restraint before the court, struck a judge with a whip on the street, she tormented her sub-tenants with chicanery, cudgelled and was cudgelled, and was with all this full of cheerfulness, confidence and fire.

During the interdiction when I examined her she showed herself busy, active, euphoric with flight of ideas. She was egocentric, with a tremendous self-consciousness, and was nevertheless lovable and not without warmth. She said, thoroughly convinced after 25 years of quarreling: "My good conscience allows me to live in peace." She was not too careful about the truth, fantasied readily but showed no delusion. She was of an imperturbable dogmatism and partially joking threw every objection to the winds. She asserted that she was the "industrialist Madame de Karle of Castle Rio" and as wife or widow of Mr. de Roday was allowed by Spanish usage to bear the title of nobility; that furthermore her family in 1580 received the "civic nobility of Karle von Karleberg" from Emperor Maximilian, that she was shown this by the department of state (she had weapons and flags in her castle). She was intelligent.

Structural analysis:

Physique: predominantly pyknic, virile traits.

Impulse-life: strong (not to be judged with absolute certainty).

Temperament: tachythymic, euphoric, irritable, quarrelsome, manic, predominantly cool, not without an element of warmth.

Character: egocentric, overcompensations, active autistic features.

Clinical Diagnosis: chronic mania (pyknic-cycloid constitution).

I cite this case here although it does not belong to the group of euphoric (hypomanic) quarrelsome; however, it is directly connected with it. This case is not only particularly colorful but it also gives expression in a high degree to the manic delight in quarreling. In this connection therefore I consider it more plastic and more characteristic than the average case of a euphoric quarrelsome.

I omit the citation of a case of psychopathic litigiousness because of Wetzel's classic picture of Baron Hausen.[131]

9. *Eccentric Psychopaths*

"A lack of inner unity and consistency in their psychic lives" according to Kraepelin characterizes a small group of psychopaths which he calls eccentric. Kurt Schneider calls attention to the fact that this designation "is employed in a double sense, first for eccentricities of expression, bearing, attire, and manner of speaking,[132] but also for peculiarities in thinking and in striving."

Slight eccentricities, striking habits, and peculiarities, are quite frequent within the range of the normal.[133] There are non-psychopathic persons who exaggerate the importance of their enunciation; many throughout their lives wear only black or white neckties, others lay a special emphasis on the choice of their clothes and food, or accentuate their frugality and un-

[131] *Mschr. f. Kriminalpsychol.* 12 (1922).

[132] One may add here the manner of writing, the care of the body, manner of wearing the hair and beard.

[133] Many attitudes of older persons seem to be "old-fashioned and eccentric" to the young and *vice versa,* many attitudes of the young seem "ultramodern and eccentric" to the old, although it is not always in either case a matter of actual eccentricities.

pretentiousness. These traits may become fixed through education and habit but they are always related to personal peculiarity and stand in close relationship to pedantry[134] or are immediate manifestations of pedantry.

Such eccentricities are extraordinarily widespread among psychopathic personalities and frequently very deeply ingrained, although it is not feasible to designate all psychopaths with eccentricities as eccentrics. It will frequently be possible to speak of psychopathic eccentricities when psychopaths attract attention, as a result of peculiar habits of appearance and behavior, without making this completely responsible for the classification. Psychopathic eccentricities in the narrower and broader sense occur in the weak and uncertain in impulse, the anxious and sensitive, the ill-humored and depressed, in anancastics and hypochondriacs, and especially in hysterical personalities. In all these it is possible to bring the eccentricities into fundamental relationship with insecurity which comes to expression in one way or another in the outer bearing. The bearing is then finally exploited in order to give to the personality the mark of peculiarity and originality, that is, in order to hang an all-concealing mantle around the insecurity and thus to do justice to the need for prestige (overcompensation). The fact that now and then a hypochondriacal psychopath, as a result of his standards of caution and protection, or an anancastic as a result of his "absurd compulsions and ceremonies" (Kurt Schneider) in his total bearing predominantly gives the impression of an "eccentric," does not prove necessarily that he belongs among

[134] The relationship between pedantry and compulsive manifestations may be recalled.

eccentric psychopaths in the strict sense. This fact instead merely makes particularly clear the existence of transitional forms from the normal through the psychopathic in general, to the special type of eccentric.

The majority of eccentric psychopaths are not of pyknic, but chiefly of leptosomic or asthenic *physique.* In this fact lies one of the most essential reasons for their often strikingly angular, stiff, ungraceful motor.[135] Organ inferiorities are a frequent manifestation; they may increase the motor peculiarities both causally and finally.[136] The presence of an organically conditioned tic may be of far-reaching influence in the total motor and may give a touch of eccentricity to the personality through the way and manner in which the tic is built into the personality and elaborated by it.

The eccentrics are, generally speaking, unbalanced

[135] I do not need to explain that the leptosomic is not fundamentally ungraceful and that the pyknic is not *per se* a model of grace. There are many pyknics who have a clumsy motor not only because of their obesity, and many leptosomes who are of outstanding motoric grace; but primarily smooth-running well-rounded motion stands in close relationship to the pyknic. Cf. Kretschmer, Jislin, Ssucharewa.

[136] Among organ inferiorities hardness of hearing is of a certain significance in eccentrics, frequently deepening the passive autistic attitude (insecurity, distrust), which is often present, and favoring the development of sensitive paranoid formations. However, all the deaf and hard of hearing *are not*—and this must be emphasized—distrustful from the start, and just as little do all of them become paranoid. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the manifestations under discussion are much more numerous with defective hearing than with defective sight. The lay opinion that the person who is hard of hearing is fundamentally bad natured and distrustful, and the blind always gentle, is to my mind an exaggeration. To be sure one should not forget the fact that in spite of the greater limitation of locomotion, psychic contact with the environment is in itself much easier for the blind than for the deaf.

in their *impulse-life.*[137] Considerable traces of impulsive weakness or uncertainty, asexuality, psychosexual infantilisms, persistence of masturbation, avoidance of the opposite sex, refusal of marriage, peculiar partially ascetic opinions concerning the relationships of the sexes, peculiar regulation of intercourse within and without marriage, conscious and unconscious homosexual attitude, or homosexual traits, sado-masochistic features, sexual perversions of all kinds, whether indicated or completely developed, together with the corresponding sexual habits—all these are manifestations one or another of which is always present in genuine

[137] There frequently occur episodic but also persisting (the latter particularly among the senile) manifestations of eccentricity in connection with the physical and impulsive changes of puberty, the climacteric, and the senile. Occasionally it is possible to demonstrate an earlier presence of a certain inclination toward eccentricity in the persons concerned so that the puberal or climacteric eccentricity, and also the senile, in so far as it is not organically conditioned, are to be regarded as exacerbations of a constitutional eccentricity which up to the present had reached no considerable psychopathic degree. This is principally true in the *eccentric old maid,* of whom it is possible to say somewhat paradoxically, a person never becomes an old maid who is not an old maid from the start. The *eccentricity of the old maid, the mixture of lascivious prudishness and sexual envy, fear of experience and longing for it, insecurity, and pretentious self-complacency*—having their equivalents in certain odd male types of impulsive weakness and insecurity, who not infrequently stress their "bachelorhood" even in marriage—become of importance in many women extraordinarily early and indeed not always only in the unmarried and physically virgin. Even if the effect of environmental influences (particularly social influences) in the development of the old maid is not to be denied, nevertheless there is the fact that our contemporary old maids are not to be differentiated from their predecessors of earlier epochs in spite of all their different social standing as a result of emancipation (study, profession, etc.). The causal foundations of old-maidhood are today the same as they always were.

eccentrics.[138] It is easy to understand that they will be effective causally as well as finally in the outward bearing, either directly in apparel, bearing, and care of the body, or by way of overcompensation in "smart bearing," and accentuation of a masculinity or a femininity which is not in any sense present.

On the side of *temperament* and *character* the psychopathic eccentrics may be differentiated in two directions, that is, as *hyperthymic sthenic active* (active eccentrics), and the *hypothymic asthenic passive* (passive eccentrics). This differentiation may not be carried to the extreme because in both groups opposing temperamental and character elements are practically always present together with ambitendent traits. Furthermore it happens that with both *poikilothymic components*[139] are sometimes present.

All the eccentrics stand according to their impulsive and temperamental structure, in a more or less marked *opposition to the environment,* this opposition giving to them the direction toward their own ego. Their teleology is characterized by an *overaccentuated ego-inclination* together with an extraordinarily marked inclination to be inwardly and frequently also outwardly alone, or sooner or later to isolate themselves. In com-

[138] I may quote Kraepelin here: "Many patients are dominated by an impulsive aversion against definite persons, the brother or the stepmother, regarding this person as the source of their unhappiness and pursuing him with their hatred." Certainly no mistake will be made if these "impulsive aversions" are regarded as conditioned by complexes and as giving expression to the impulsive weakness or insecurity already mentioned. Furthermore Kraepelin himself has said: "The eccentricities of the patients become most evident in their relationships to the other sex."

[139] It may be noted here that transitory and especially recurring eccentricities are not infrequently observed in slightly circular (cyclothymic) troubles.

mon with the quarrelsome type they have the tendency to develop overvalued ideas which in part they project outwardly (active-expansive) and in part they settle essentially within themselves (passive-sensitive). From the exaggerated ego-inclination and from the isolation, or more exactly, from the causal basis of both of these, that is, especially the poverty of affect and the lack of capacity for contact, there results in combination with the tendency to overvalued contents,[140] a far-reaching incapacity to reëxperience with others (incapacity for the Thou-experience), and a peculiar sort of *"autistic" thinking,* which can be a varying mixture of strict logic and incomprehensible desultoriness.[141] To what extent this manner of thinking is causally given, and to what extent final processes play a part in its development I cannot decide. That the latter may participate seems to me beyond doubt, judging from the joy with which many eccentrics put their apparently absurd sophistic autistic arguments on paper, or gain a hearing for them. Certainly the manner of their thought together with their deviations in impulse, temperament, and character all tend to make them incapable of discussion (*diskussionsunfaenig,* Bleuler) in the strict sense.

Some eccentrics possibly are "pre-stages, mild cases or terminal stages of dementia praecox" as Kraepelin thought and as Bleuler, Bumke, and others assume. In the total behavior of the eccentrics, especially their manner of thinking, their incapacity for discussion, make this possibility seem likely. Their manner of

[140] This inclination is in itself not psychopathic but instead becomes so only through the intensity of the overvalued content, and through the determining significance which they may assume for the psychopathic personalities.

[141] Bumke calls attention to a "peculiar 'twisted' manner of thinking" in the eccentric.

thinking may recall vividly the schizophrenic disturbance in thought. More extensive than their association with the schizophrenics are their connections with the schizoid psychopaths, but it is not true that the totality of eccentric psychopaths or even the majority of them would be schizoid.

Among the eccentrics I include also the fanatic (Kraepelin's cranks) and *paranoid psychopaths.* The psychopathic fanatic doubtlessly is eccentric in his strictly one-sided attitude as well as in the uninfluenceability of his thinking. Moreover the majority of fanatics in their appearance and behavior are characterized even outwardly as eccentric.[142]

The *paranoid psychopaths* Kraepelin has set in close relationship to his eccentrics. He has, it is true, described his paranoid personalities as "cases of undeveloped 'rudimentary' paranoia," as "psychopaths paranoiac by *Anlage.*" He called attention to the fact "that in the eccentrics the inclination to delusions recedes behind the unbalance of their attitude, the distractability of their thought and the unpredictability of their behavior." I see in the paranoid psychopaths special types of the eccentrics characterized by the "inclination to self-reference" (Kurt Schneider) and consider it appropriate to exclude the inclination to delusion and the delusion itself from the characterization of psychopathic paranoids. They are pre-stages of the paranoiac personalities which show the readiness to develop delusions (paranoiac reactions and developments), and especially delusional systems. Among the paranoids in the strict sense, self-references are in part fluid and changing, in part persisting, but they

[142] Associated with the active fanatics are the hysterical fanatic women who persecute for the sake of love (*hysterisch-fanatische Liebesverfolgerinnen,* Birnbaum).

never become delusional or in other words, where the delusions set in the paranoid ceases and the paranoiac begins.[143] Neither in a nosological system nor in an individual case is it possible to distinguish sharply, for the paranoid of today may tomorrow have a paranoiac reaction.

From the point of view of self-reference the litigious[144] also belong among the paranoids, and so among the eccentrics; the ideal example of an eccentric litigious is Wetzel's Baron Hausen. On account of the peculiar type of their self-reference or of the expression of this self-reference, I have described the litigious among the quarrelsome. I stress the fact, however, that they also have a place with the active (paranoid) eccentrics, among whom in the expansive fanatics they have very close kin.

The *sensitive* also, whose inclination to self-reference has been stressed,[145] are to be mentioned once more in this connection. They belong in part among the passive (paranoid) eccentrics.

A. ACTIVE ECCENTRICS

First to be mentioned are the *expansive fanatics* (Kretschmer, Kurt Schneider), that is, those personalities who identify themselves completely with an overvalued idea. This idea may be in itself completely reasonable (e.g., fighting against alcohol). It is all the

[143] We need no proof that the paranoiac is an eccentric of extreme degree.

[144] The relationship of the litigious and sensitive to the paranoiacs should be remembered here. We know litigious paranoiacs, and paranoiac litigious, sensitive paranoiacs and paranoiac sensitive (Kretschmer, Kehrer, Lange).

[145] Not the content of the idea but the manner in which it is overvalued conditions the eccentricity.

same whether this is the case or not, the overvalued idea is fought for by the expansive fanatic in such an inconsiderate one-sided eccentric manner that under certain circumstances he hurts the cause more than he helps. With complete lack of criticism the fanatic charges his opponent with impure motives, untruth, immoral convictions, and dishonest behavior. He insults the adversary in the most uninhibited manner and may be very much surprised when his own words are reëchoed, but this serves only for an immediate strengthening of his conviction that he is waging a battle against scoundrels and blockheads. Many expansive fanatics are quarrelsome and litigious, just as conversely many litigious are fanatics. On the side of temperament these zealots are excitable, irritable, tachythymic, and withal predominantly cool. The eccentrics in general are entirely lacking in humor; sometimes a euphoric or hypomanic trait may give a more pleasant coloring to such personalities.[146] Among these there are to be numbered certain active paranoid projectors and inventors who often show a tremendous (overcompensatory) self-reliance. In the character of the zealots egocentricity is prominent usually in company with active autistic traits. Generally the desire for prestige in these personalities is great and their behavior frequently betrays overcompensations, which are scarcely ever lacking. With the corresponding gift of intelligence and fantasy there are to be found here outstanding, even genial, personalities (prophets, warriors, and leaders); however, cranks of lesser significance are encountered much more frequently (dogmatists, litigious founders of sects).

[146] How a hypomanic fanatic may develop from a hypomanic man of the world through "formal personality changes as a result of changed milieu" Reiss has shown in an impressive case.

As *active paranoids* the *litigious* have already been mentioned. To be ranked among the predominantly active paranoids are some *suspicious* and *jealous* persons who are not only tormented by their self-reference but also are in constant struggle against the object of their suspicion and their jealousy (fanatics of jealousy). Also worthy of mention here is a special type of the *ambitious for prestige* who cannot endure anyone else's accomplishing more than he in his field, or knowing more, or even counting for more; this type may put himself into desperate exertion in suspicious jealous watching of the activity of his supposed or actual rival.

The projectors already mentioned may sometimes be related to Bleuler's disproportionate feeble-minded (*Verhältnisblödsinnige*),[147] those personalities whose absolutely or relatively defective intellectual endowment does not suffice for the realization of their high aspirations. Bleuler speaks of a "disproportion between endeavor and understanding." These persons, prompted by their tachythymic, often euphoric, temperamental peculiarity, frequently burden themselves with tasks they are unable to perform. As a result of their egocentric desire for prestige they over and over again attempt to succeed. They are too stupid and too uncritical to understand their failure on the basis of their own inadequacies, and ascribe everything to circumstances and to the lack of understanding or to the disloyalty of those with whose help they wish to carry through their undertakings. Temperamentally these disproportionate feeble-mindeds, apart from the vi-

[147] The syndrome of disproportionate feeble-mindedness occurs also, according to Bleuler, in schizophrenia. I knew an eccentric disproportionate feeble-minded who was manic depressive.

vacity which is found in all of them, are rather various (euphoric, sensitive, cool); egocentricity predominates in their character. The unclearness and uninfluenceability of their thinking, their inclination to outward peculiarities, places them in part among the eccentrics and in part in close proximity to them. Many are so pseudologistic that they might be considered also a feeble-minded variety of the pseudologists.[148]

B. PASSIVE ECCENTRICS

The "*flabby fanatics*" of Kurt Schneider stand as an opposite pole to the expansive fanatics. Among them he numbers "natural man" (*Naturmenschen*), benefactors of the people, apostles of peace, pietists, the "queer fellows" (Kreuser) and the "genuine men" (Peretti), "strangers to reality" (Wollenberg, Aschaffenburg), "eccentric fanatics"[149] (Stertz), cer-

[148] Here it becomes obvious that there are relations between the eccentrics and the hysterical personalities whose desire for prestige may immediately be recalled in this connection.

[149] Among the "eccentric fanatics" certain spiritists and occultists may belong. Their attitude and thought is or becomes entirely eccentric; and this, thanks to the "occultistic complex" which expresses itself according to v. Klinckowstroem, in the fact "that the occultists accustom themselves to the wonders of mediums and drown themselves to such an extent in their dogma and absurd hypotheses that they become entirely incapable of unbiased consideration and judgment of things, and lose their sense of proportion in playing with their hypotheses." v. Klinckowstroem called attention to the fact that we are dealing here "with an indisputable alteration in the manner of thinking, which in many cases may reach into the pathological, into the realm of the overvalued ideas and of the delusion of reference, to be sure, however, with a logic following false paths, which is so strongly governed by definite dominating conceptions that the 'credo quia absurdum' often seems to be elevated into a principle."

tain sectarians, and those men who refuse to serve their military duty (Köppen). Kurt Schneider brings out rightly the fact that some of these eccentrics are undoubtedly schizophrenics.

Among these *flabby zealots* are to be found eccentrics in the strictest sense. If many of them, furthermore, are not free from tachythymic temperamental elements, nevertheless they lack the vivacity and the swing of the active eccentrics. There are many personalities of striking poverty of affect to be found among them. True warmth of affect is infrequent with them; the sympathy and kindness which they often exhibit does not appear genuine (pseudo-sympathy, pseudo-kindness), and usually impresses the observer as an artificial property of the type which these persons think they represent. The fact is not to be overlooked that here a bit of the hysterical pleasure of representation may find expression. Kurt Schneider says: "It is intelligible that the natural man goes barefooted and that the pietist makes use of biblical language." Of course this admits variations: the pious person who is eccentric must be patient and sympathetic, the apostle of peace must be tolerant and kind. In truth these flabby zealots are highly egocentric and desirous of prestige, and also passive autistic and filled with resentment. Many of them are not actively fanatic but are fanaticized, showing nevertheless in regard to their eccentricity the same structure as their fanatic leaders. Not a few are in the character aspect well-defined *ego-searchers*. Among the fanaticized eccentrics are certain ascetics, recluses, and hermits who are too devoid of fantasy to find their own way into fanaticism, but nevertheless allow themselves to be thrown into an eccentric enthusiasm by a stronger personality,

especially if the circumstances of their narrower and wider circle are favorable (pietistic surroundings, particular economic and social difficulties, etc.). In such fanaticized persons overvalued ideas may be derived from all kinds of absurdity and nonsense; that is easily demonstrated with abundant examples from the history of many sects. There is nothing so absurd that it will not be believed and fought for—sometimes even with bloody violence. Such persons blindly follow even insane leaders.[150] Nevertheless these are rare manifestations; the flabby fanatics, however bizarre the contents of their overvalued ideas, usually remain harmless as leaders and followers (natural men, sectarians), at least until they are driven to battle by inexpedient official provisions and consider it their duty no longer to limit themselves to agitation but rather to devote their energies to demonstrations and actions. In the group of flabby fanatics there are to be found many *eccentric enthusiasts and fantastics* (dreamers, strangers to reality) in whom infantile traits and sensitive elements are particularly well marked. Many a flabby fanatic could pass in his grotesque gravity equally well for a "handicapped disproportionate feeble-minded." This would be a type of person who is protected only by the lack of temperamental vivacity, from manifesting himself as a disproportionate feeble-minded, being however fundamentally inadequate to the carrying through of the outstanding rôle undertaken or sought.

Those eccentrics who have a *strong self-reference in the sense of impairment* may be designated as *passive paranoids:* they feel themselves always injured,

[150] For example the cases described by Rorschach.

slighted, and insulted, they suspect that the most harmless remark is aimed against them.[151]

Among the passive eccentrics belong the majority of the *eccentric pedants* in whom anancastic manifestations may be demonstrated almost without exception, and certain types of old maids and old bachelors already mentioned. In them we are dealing throughout with sensitive persons lacking in security, of diverse dysphoric temperament type. The eternally distrustful and suspicious are to be listed here, especially the type which is chronically jealous. Among the latter one may find personalities whose whole sexual life, and indeed whose whole life is constantly and entirely governed by jealousy. There are many connections between such persons and certain hysterical personalities. These jealous persons particularly have a sort of middle position between the active and passive eccentrics.

The eccentrics are deeply attracted toward the inscrutable and mysterious. The general human quality of *belief* exists in them to the highest degree, thus they are to be found wherever there is belief and indeed particularly where belief is granted to the absurd: in "magic art," spiritism, occultism—*in superstition.*[152] Personalities with a prominent flair for superstition very often show more or less signs of eccentricity and frequently anancastic manifestations.

[151] I quote Kraepelin concerning paranoid psychopaths in his chapter on paranoia: "A combination of insecurity and exaggerated estimation of the own personality seems to me essential. This tends to force the patient into an inimical opposition against the influences of the struggle of life from which he may attempt to withdraw into inner exaltation."

[152] For the relationship between superstition and delusion compare among others Horstmann and Gaupp.

At last the *silent eccentrics* remain to be mentioned. These are cranks usually having sensitive, and sensitive anancastic, traits. They conduct their lonely life according to a very rigid time-table and frequently show outward peculiarities. Some of them are bigoted and interlard their utterances with biblical verses and pious phrases; others are really pious and observe the outer precepts of their religion, "outpoping the pope." This does not prevent them from surprising their surroundings now and then by the information that they have gone over to another creed. Certain *ascetics* and *hermits* belong to this type. If such silent eccentrics out of fear of lonelines, or as the result of some impressive experience (a revival), happen to become members of a conventicle or of a sect, they may easily become flabby fanatics. Toward the "children of the world," they are occasionally marked by a condescension which they may conceal rarely or not at all. They do not like to give an insight into their inner life so that it is usually difficult to determine to what extent they attempt to relieve the pressure of their insecurity and the whole burden of their passive autism by means of fantasies and "inner exaltation."

Examples

Eliza Schaef., a cook of 36 years, was of a small and asthenic build. Her father, who died from tuberculosis, was moody and irritable. Her mother, now a senile dement, was earlier active and good-natured. The only brother, on whom Eliza was very dependent, fell on the battle field. A paternal second cousin was said to have been insane. She was always anxious and shy, and even in school did not risk speaking. She frequently used to picture to herself "sad events," for example the death of her mother. Even as a child she occasionally gave offense through clumsy remarks although she "never meant it that way." She got along all right in school but envied her brother

who learned more readily. She lived at home (on a farm) until the marriage of her brother. She was always absorbed in herself, never danced, and was never able to open her heart to anyone. She was frequently scolded for this by her brother and mother. She did not mind her clothes. She had a position as servant girl but it was difficult for her. She developed fainting spells of hours duration, was frequently in hospitals, and ultimately had no refuge left. She could not go home because she did not like her sister-in-law and had already been paid her share of the estate (the money was devaluated during the inflation) and because she could not get on with her mother. Thus she felt herself thrust out from her parents' home. It was no longer possible to go to friends with whom she had lived for a considerable time because she could not bear it when they were good to her. She could not take a position because she felt ill. It was impossible for her to be in any company because all people were false and got on her nerves with their gaiety. Furthermore, she had already thought that she was looked upon with scorn because in spite of her healthy appearance (rosy cheeks) she did not work. She was "a slighted step-child of nature." "I envy no one but it hurts me when I see how others are able to work." For two years her menstruation had been irregular (menarche at 15 years). She had never had erotic or sexual relations.

She was repeatedly in the clinic. She is an awkward old maid with stiff graceless movements, shy, bashful, embarrassed, excitable, and extremely sensitive. She felt constantly slighted and injured, wished to be regarded as important and to be able to speak her mind, but always felt that she was misunderstood. She complained of her hard fate, the injustice of the world, was periodically depressed and continually suffered from feelings of inferiority. She talked verbosely and monotonously. She avoided the other patients. She frequently developed all sorts of physical complaints, in part of a climacteric nature. With the exception of her brother she has never spoken kindly of anyone.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic, in the climacterium.

Impulse-life: impulsively weak.
Temperament: excitable, sensitive, cool, with poikilothymic traits.
Character: passive autistic, full of resentment, with egocentric elements.
Eccentric psychopath (old maid type).

Ann Schwarz., 50 years old, was a tall, thin, markedly asthenic woman. Her father was strict but kind. Her mother and only brother were healthy. Her paternal grandmother committed suicide in an asylum. A. S. was a silent, sensitive, nervous child. She had many children's diseases and grew very rapidly. She was enthusiastic, idealistic, and was not unsociable. Menstruation set in at the age of 17 and continued regularly. In the twenties she was engaged for three years, her fiancé was jealous, the engagement was broken by the patient's father after a great scene. She recovered from this quickly, never holding it against her father on whom she was very dependent. She was constantly expecting another wooer but none came. She had never had sexual intercourse. After the death of her father, which occurred in her 39th year and upset her greatly, she had her first hysterical attack. Afterward, having stayed at home up to this time, it was necessary for her to earn her living.

She was active for many years as a social worker, and later as a factory worker. It was very difficult for her "having been interested in art, loving nature, and never having studied anything or done anything to have to be among the common people of the factory." Her rich relatives did not support her and her mother. Her hopes of marriage constantly decreased, while her disillusionment and the feeling of loneliness increased. In her anxiety the hysterical attacks set in again. As a result of these she gave up her work in order to be cared for by her mother.

In the clinic she attracted attention by her affected gestures and pathetic phraseology. In her whole behavior she gave a grotesque impression of youth, which was in sharp contrast to her worn and aging personality. She was entirely occupied

with herself and the observation of her inner life and considered her old mother as her caretaker and nurse. She liked to talk about herself and thoroughly enjoyed being of interest to others.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic.
Impulse-life: impulsively weak.
Temperament: excitable, sensitive, cool.
Character: passive autist (resentment), with evident elements of egocentric craving for prestige, hysterical attacks.
Eccentric psychopath (old maid type).

Max Herb., a day laborer, 36 years old, married, was of leptosomic physique. His sister was said to have had a nervous breakdown. Up to his 9th year he suffered from enuresis, and until his 20th year from fear of the dark and thunderstorms. In school he learned with difficulty and twice had to repeat a grade. As a locksmith he did not succeed and he worked later as a gardener and a laborer. In his 22d year he was converted in a religious meeting: "I saw the light and felt a hand stretched toward me from heaven. I saw and found the treasure in earthen vessels." At this time, according to his statement, he stopped masturbating, which had been a habit of many years. During the war he served some time behind the trenches having great fear; later he was a factory worker. After the war he got a job in a pious association where he became acquainted with his wife-to-be, by whom he allowed himself to be seduced and infected with gonorrhea; he later married the girl who had a child, in order to do a good work. After three years of postal service he was discharged, having been suspected of stealing. After this things went very badly for years. He could not take care of his wife and child and starved and begged. The woman, whom he had never satisfied, became unfaithful to him. He entered a plea for divorce but immediately withdrew it. He was then suspected of having attacked a three-year-old child. He was always a silent man

although he "blew up" occasionally, and tried to keep himself away from noise. He was never really attracted to girls and had never had sexual intercourse with anyone but his wife. "But marriage is no 'free license' for the satisfaction of sensual carnal and impure lusts as so many think and believe. No, here the word is: take off your shoes, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground." Impure impulses and desires he had conquered "thanks to the grace of God."

In the clinic it was demonstrated that the patient was slightly debile. He was full of sanctimonious, bombastic phraseology which he liked to express in word and writing. Once started he could develop a very considerable, circumstantial, usually vague flow of words in a pathetic preaching tone. He was silent, little resonant, however, when remonstrated with, he was somewhat excitable, anxious, insecure. In his whole make-up, especially in his movements, he was awkward and clumsy.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosome.
Intelligence: slightly debile.
Impulse-life: impulsively weak.
Temperament: anxious, cool (pseudo-kindness).
Character: passive autist with a scanty inclusion of egocentric craving for prestige.
Debile, eccentric psychopath (flabby fanatic of very low level).

Otto Knol., a surveyor of 38 years, was a leptosome of moderate stature and muscular power. He had a high degree of vasomotor instability and a systolic murmur over the aorta. His parents brought him up strictly with his five surviving brothers and sisters (six died in infancy). He was frequently hit. His father (a teacher) got a prison sentence because he had attacked a school girl. O. K. and the whole family suffered much on this account. A brother had hysterical attacks on the battle field; another brother was fussy, stiff, and ceremonious.

O. K., was good in school. He had always been sensitive, dis-

trustful, proud and reserved. He chose a career as a petty official and professionally got along fairly well. At the age of 24 he married a gay pyknic woman of whom he was jealous from the start, not always without reason. Before marriage he had had intercourse very infrequently. He masturbated twice a week and retained this custom in marriage, all the more since his wife, whom he never satisfied, showed herself disinclined to intercourse after the birth of three children. There was always much quarreling. He thought his wife and his 14-year-old daughter, whom he did not believe to be his own child, spoke ill of him everywhere. At home he was explosively excitable, but had never dared to make any decision, and had obediently prepared the family's breakfast for years. When once he discovered his wife in a doubtful situation with a man, he said and did nothing, because otherwise it might have been said that he was a fool. When the wife wanted to go to a carnival he tore up her costume. The daughter, of whom he was jealous because she was preferred to him by her mother, he threatened with a knife.

In the clinic, where he was brought at the instigation of his wife, although resonant, he was affectively cool and sometimes explosively excitable. He gave the impression of cowardice and inhibition and showed himself slack, unmanly, and devoid of energy. He was shy, embarrassed, sensitive, easily moved to tears over his misfortune, the cause of which he attributed entirely to his wife. His behavior was ceremonious, awkward, that of a petty official full of resentment. His motions were stiff and clumsy. He spoke affectedly and liked to make use of fine expressions.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosome.

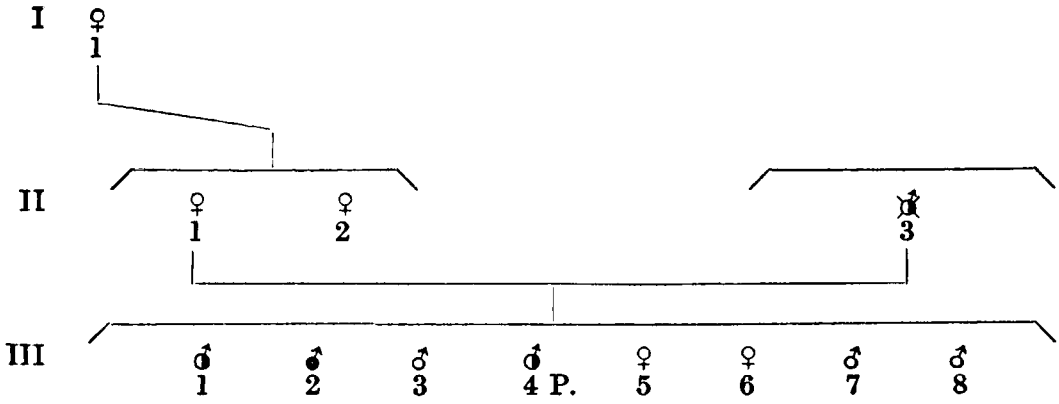
Impulse-life: impulsively weak with psychosexually infantile elements.

Temperament: explosive, cool, sensitive.

Character: predominantly passive autistic, insecure with a scant need for prestige.

Eccentric paranoid psychopath (distrustful, jealous).

Nicholas Vi., born 1884, widower, chauffeur[153]



I, 1: lived to the age of 90 years, otherwise nothing known.

II, 1 and 2: no information concerning peculiarities.

II, 3: hot-tempered, malicious, drunkard; the whole family of the father is said to have been hot-tempered.

III, 1: hot-tempered, spiteful.

III, 2: born 1872, schizophrenia (paranoid, perhaps feeble-minded schizophrenic).

III, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8: no information concerning peculiarities.

III, 4: the patient was a man of medium stature and indeterminate physique. His movements were awkard, clumsy, and unskillful. He got along tolerably well in school. Afterward he became a servant and later a chauffeur. As a young boy he was punished for begging and fraud. He was always quiet and sensitive. As a chauffeur in the army he attracted attention on account of his stupidity, lack of skill, and uncleanliness. He was explosively excitable, tending to have ideas of reference but was actually badly treated as a result of his peculiarity (for example: the other noncommissioned officers did not like to eat with him on account of his bad manners). He became nervous and went home. Insecure in regard to women, clumsy, lascivious, but with little strength of impulse he had acquired syphilis in 1921 (Wassermann negative). In 1917 he married, having known his wife for many years. There had been no premarital intercourse. During marriage he allowed himself to be limited by his wife in their sexual relations. He was

[153] The case is published in my *Schizoid und Schizophrenie im Erbgang* (pp. 32–33).

treated by her and her family in an unfriendly manner and occasionally even with disdain. He was too yielding but overestimated and exaggerated the attitude of his environment toward him. Having once attacked his wife with a knife he got into a condition of hysterical excitement with trembling and fainting. He developed an increasingly intense animosity toward his wife whom he stabbed in sudden anger when they were taking a walk, the end of the year 1917, after three-quarters of a year of marriage. His sister-in-law, who was with them, he wounded also.

In the clinic he showed himself debile, excitable, clumsy, awkward, anxious, easily offended, sensitive, paranoid, serious, industrious. He showed a certain goodnaturedness. The jury acquitted him.

In 1919 he had a scene with one of his brothers (III, 1), to whose kick he responded by a revolver shot. He was intensely excited, seemed confused, believed his wife was at the door. In the clinic he quickly became quiet. He was sensitive, distrustful, weepy and irritated when touched upon affectively colored contents, but nevertheless torpid. He felt himself to be more and more badly treated by his relatives, lacked insight, tended to become quarrelsome, and thought the laws were interpreted to his disfavor. He dreamed repeatedly that his wife was not dead.

Structural analysis:

Physique: no definite type; clumsy motor.
Impulse-life: little force, or rather impulsively weak.
Temperament: explosively excitable, anxious, torpid and poor in affect, with considerable sensitive traits.
Character: insecure, predominantly passive autistic, element of (modest) need for prestige.
Intellect: debile.
Debile: eccentric, paranoid psychopath.
Clinicogenealogical diagnosis: schizoid psychopath.

Joseph Hub., born in 1892, a single, day laborer, was the illegitimate child of the daughter of a truck farmer; his mother died during the birth of a second illegitimate son (Florian).

The grandfather was a dogmatist; Florian was excitable. Three maternal aunts were bigoted and "hypocritical." J. H., lived in R—— with his mother's parents until his 3d year; then he lived until his 5th year with his foster parents, and afterward again with his grandparents. Then he went to live with the sister of his mother (Mrs. F.), where he had to do hard work. There promises were made to him which were not fulfilled. The F's then took over his grandfather's farm in R—— for which he himself had vainly hoped. He saw it lost however when the previously childless Mr. F. begot a son by a third unmarried aunt of J. H.

He got along well in school. During his school days he once fainted as a result of the heat and standing for a long time. From his 15th year on he was a hired man on four farms until his time for military service. He was an industrious worker but from his youth onward odd, reading much, unattached, hot-tempered, talking readily, liked to discuss politics, and tolerated no contradiction. In 1912 he became a soldier. From 1914 to 1916 he was with the infantry on the battle field, was wounded in his right lower leg and left hand which became stiff. He drew at first 70%, later 40% military pension. In 1923 he was paid off, but later again received a pension as a result of his claim. After his discharge from the army (December, 1917) he no longer had any regular work because he had little desire to work, and he wished to draw a higher pension on the basis of being out of work. In addition it annoyed him that in the country the prisoners of war were generally well treated while "those injured in war" were treated inconsiderately and brutally by the farmers. After the return from the battle field he was more radical than ever, a discusser of politics, excitable especially when contradicted, hot-tempered and crude. He always carried his pistol. Until the beginning of 1919 he maintained himself on the F's farm in R—— because his uncle was with the army. When Mr. F. came back a quarrel immediately ensued. J. H. had some furniture there and remained in bed three months during the year 1920, "in my bed," on bread and water. To the doctor who visited him he explained that he was in bed because he had nothing

else to do. He cursed his earlier employer, the war, the state, the low pensions, and made veiled threats. The commitment to an institution did not take place because he again began to work. He did light farming in a satisfactory manner but complained that the work was too hard for him and grumbled much concerning the inadequate pension. He quarreled constantly with the F's and did everything to annoy them.

In the meantime he registered in the city in order to obtain an increase in pension, but lived sometimes there and sometimes in the country. When this was discovered his pension was stopped. That made him furious: "If the state is so brutal I will take no pension at all. I will soon obtain justice."[154] In September, 1927 he went to live in G—— with an unmarried sister of his mother, T. H., whom he annoyed by leaving furniture in her house which she wanted to get rid of. He reproached her with stinginess and ingratitude: "She should not be so proud of her property, if we had not risked our heads she would have nothing. That is why we became crippled veterans." He quarreled with his aunt, in the course of which he threw her out of her own house. When she came back with a policeman he sat quietly at the table. For years he had felt himself slighted, disdained, and made use of. He had had to "endure everything from the farmers on account of the pension." "Because I no longer had any confidence in the official justice of the court I thought: self-protection is the best protection, for this reason I always carried a revolver." He had repeatedly felt himself threatened, once a farmer had attacked him with a pitchfork. All this was boiling inside him when the policeman came to him at the home of his aunt: "I observed that now was the time when I must defend myself; I must defend myself from my persecutors. I wanted also to give the inhabitants something to think about, and when they were pursuing me I would have shot down as many as I could." He immediately got into a fight with the policeman and drew his revolver which the officer struck from his hand. Next the patient took the officer's sabre from him and beat

[154] The verbatim remarks are taken in the main from the writings, but partially also from the oral communications of the patient.

him with it. Then he ran into a nearby wood still with the intention of selling his life as dearly as possible. He shot at the pursuing policeman. Then in the quietness "it seemed to me as if a supernatural power had come over me which showed me that they were not responsible for their stupidities. So I decided to surrender myself voluntarily." He went back to the village where he was immediately chased by everyone and shot at. "If I had been hit it would not have hurt so much as the fact that people were shooting at me as if I were wild game." Breathing vengeance he again escaped into the woods, but soon found himself in a different mood and surrendered to the policemen who were still hunting for him.

He was under observation for more than 3 months in the clinic. He was throughout considerate and oriented, rather intelligent and had a capacity for self-expression which was more than average for his background and education. With the other patients he got along on the whole rather well. He particularly liked to reënforce his remarks with catchwords and high sounding phrases. He spoke loudly, not always logically, never confused. Regarding the justice of the case he was completely unreasonable. He felt himself to be a wounded soldier and defender of down-trodden justice who had acted in self-defense. His communistic political opinion he asserted fanatically using the current vocabulary. He was leptosomic with considerable muscular power but in his behavior somewhat stiff and awkward. He appeared usually inwardly tense. "The state is to blame for everything." He had been deprived of his pension, "the state had desired that he should no longer receive a pension"; he would not beg. If he could not find an honest way out he would rather go to the dogs. He directed his hatred against his relatives, against farmers and policemen, and against all representatives of the State and community. He suffered as a result of the loss of his home, that is of his grandfather's estate for which he had hoped. "I consider it necessary" he wrote in his long-winded manner, "to use the word homesickness because I have learned in life that there are certain social circles which regard it as their unique right and monoply to fuss and complain about all injuries denying

it to their compatriots to the same degree to which they claim it for themselves. If such people, egoists in the idealistic as well as in the materialistic sense, happen to feel themselves injured they take recourse to force, naturally to the power of the State which they regard as being obviously necessary for their cause. Then it can occur that some functionary of the State in the form of a thoughtless policeman or someone else, who has no understanding of anything more than the question as to what per cent raise he is likely to have in his monthly or weekly wages, will be sent to someone at the order of such a person, to whom he is supposed to make clear that nothing may be done to disturb the prestiges or supposed prestiges of his social class.'' So he goes on for pages. At another time he wrote: ''To the question why I carry a revolver I should like to answer: because circumstances did not allow me to carry a 42 cm. gun with ammunition.'' This however was meant seriously for he had no sense of humor. Concerning his sexual life there was no information to be obtained from him, a thing which is all the more remarkable in that people of this district are accustomed to talk rather frankly about this matter.

Structural analysis:

Physique: leptosomic, muscular.
Impulse-life: certainly not strong in impulse (not to be determined exactly).
Temperament: excitable, cool (feeling for home) sensitive.
Character: passive autistic with active autistic and egocentric traits. Full of resentment.
Paranoid-litigious fanatic, bordering on the paranoiac.

10. *Asthenic Psychopaths*

A classification of psychopathic personalities according to physique is not practicable in the stage of our present knowledge. Nevertheless in our presentation of psychopathic personalities we have been able to make frequent reference to the significance of the physique. This was particularly often the case respecting the leptosomic habitus and its extreme type reaching

over into the pathological, e.g., the asthenic habitus. Now there is a group of psychopathic types who are definitely asthenic in physique. Among them the relationships between the physical and the psychical are so direct that a far-reaching understanding of the psychopathic peculiarity may be derived from the physical bases. These types may be grouped together under the caption *asthenic psychopaths.*[155]

Kurt Schneider, who called attention to the fact that asthenic traits occur in the most varied psychopaths, understands in his concept of asthenic psychopathy, or constitutional nervousness, "first of all the forms of the sensitive and of the physically somewhat insufficient, on the basis of character, and certain of those who feel themselves psychically inadequate." He mentions the significance of organ inferiorities for these personalities. It will be clear that our conception of the asthenic psychopaths coincides essentially with that of Schneider's. Our point of view may show some connections in a slightly different light. Asthenic psychopaths may be regarded as particularly marked representatives of the constitutionally nervous.

From the angle of the physique it is possible to differentiate the simple asthenics, the infantile asthenics, and furthermore the asthenics and infantile asthenics with hypoplastic elements (hypoplastic constitutional anomalies).[156] This differentiation will not be discussed

[155] Following Janet they have been described by many authors as psychasthenics. The expression is superfluous from our point of view. It is expedient usually to conceive psychasthenia more generally, and with Jaspers to understand by it a "lack of psychic strength."

[156] It should be mentioned that the small stature and the peculiarity of the infantile physique, as well as dysplastic anomalies, may give the impression of specific organ inferiority.

here in detail but instead a more comprehensive presentation of the asthenics will be given.

The asthenics are marked by the totality of their delicate and weakly physique.[157] They are tall, lightly built persons of delicate bony structure, with weak and slack musculature, slight turgor of tissues, with frequently small heart (drop heart), enteroptotic manifestations, and overexcitability of the vegetative nervous system (Julius Bauer, Mathes, etc.).[158] It is not necessary to discuss in detail the infantile asthenic and hypoplastic-asthenic forms.[159] The asthenic habitus can be recognized even in early youth: A. Wetzel has described asthenic infants. The asthenics frequently have a slight resistance; they show themselves even physically highly sensitive to all the demands of life. They are easily tired and have small capacity for accomplishment, being generally, moreover, adverse to all training. Even physically they have been endowed with too small a capital, bringing them little or no interest so that they are compelled to live on their principal. Thus it is obvious that they are extraordinarily handicapped by physical disease and relatively quickly worn out by life. Many asthenics age rapidly. A special group is perhaps constituted by those who retain a boyish or girlish appearance for a rather long time, far into the third and occasionally into the fourth decade, and then without interval, almost suddenly, fade and age physically (Bumke). That the asthenics are little

[157] Stiller described this physique in 1917 as "asthenic constitutional disease." This term has been rightfully replaced by the term "asthenic habitus." For literature see Julius Bauer.

[158] On the basis of an asthenic physique vegetative attacks may be produced by vegetative supersensibility. Mathes has given an excellent description of these attacks.

[159] With this cf. Julius Bauer and Mathes.

capable of physical resistance, and suffer in the most pronounced manner under all the "scares of life," remains to be discussed later.

Corresponding with the total physical habitus of the asthenic is the make-up of his endocrine apparatus with which the fact is connected that asthenic psychopaths are predominantly *weak in impulse,* and in addition not infrequently *insecure in impulse.* In many of them the impulse development, particularly the sexual, remains in the early stages: occasionally one of them is asexual or nearly so; many remain *psychosexually infantile* and develop various manifestations of infantile psychosexuality, a few complete the development of their sexuality which even then usually remains weak. A considerable number of asthenics persist in erotic sexual narcism, delighting, with a certain lasciviousness, in sexual fantasies, secret or unconcealed erotic infatuation, showing great sexual curiosity but consistently repudiating the "crude sexual." It is obvious that these attitudes may frequently lead to serious complications and to catastrophes in marriage.[160]

In temperament the asthenics lean in mood toward the *depressive,* which is frequently accompanied by *poikilothymic* and *sensitive traits.* Many asthenics are markedly *cool;* true warmth is rare in them, however, with a certain good-naturedness, pseudo-kindness and pseudo-warmth are often to be found in them. Elements of excitability and irritability are not infrequent. Many asthenic psychopaths appear thoroughly tachythymic, nevertheless the violence of their psychic

[160] Menstruation is usually a shock for individual asthenics. Pregnancy is usually intensely feared and avoided, and when it occurs is received with psychopathic reactions. With the approach of the climacterium asthenic psychopaths may get into considerable and persistent psychopathic depressive stages.

expressions is very often insincere, rather artificial and forced. The form and strength of their nature in reality almost never corresponds with the nature of the tachythymics.

It is evident that the impulsive and temperamental shares of the asthenic capital exactly correspond with the asthenic physique. The asthenic psychopath cannot master life with his causal bases. He is *more or less incapable of living.* He is fundamentally at a disadvantage with the environment.[161] Thus he may be compelled to turn away from the environment and to incline toward his own ego; he may attempt on the one hand to carry on with his capital, on the other hand in his own fashion to take loans from the capital of other men. In other words: the asthenic psychopath, being himself unequal to the environment, is constantly occupied with himself and is dependent on the help of the environment, of which he assures himself in various manners. Thus he is actually predestined to the final attitude of *passive autism* and secondarily to *ego-searching.* Bound up in insecurity and feeling of inferiority he faces the environment anxiously in order either to flee from it in passive autism, or to subject himself to one or another of his fellow men in "passive inclination" (ego-searching). The asthenic psychopath is filled with *resentment* which, with his egocentricity, may

[161] The fact must be stressed that there are many relatively delicate (leptosomic), and among them also physically small, persons who make on first sight a completely asthenic impression, who, however, on closer observation show in their strength and in the symmetry of their physique (in which particularly frequent pyknic elements are to be recognized) very important deviations from the asthenic habitus. Psychically also they are differently structured. In addition to various psychopathic types there are psychically well-balanced personalities among them. Not every slender person, that is, not every leptosome, is an asthenic or even an asthenic psychopath.

lead him to *desire for prestige,* to overcompensatory formations; then it may occur that as an asthenic hysterical personality—in spite of his original will to impotence—he makes a well-meaning compassionate environment into the toy of his tenacious egocentricity, following the *leit motif:* I must suffer, so at least you shall suffer with me. He not only tortures himself but also inclines to torture others.

On the basis of such an attitude, in which the deficient evolution[162] of these personalities becomes manifest, we may be able to judge the final development of the asthenic cry for compassion, regard, and care of the environment. The asthenic in his ego-inclination tends to seize and build up numerous little complaints which his physical insufficiency actually brings with it, and to make purposive use of them in respect to his environment. Thus he becomes actually sick—at least in his own eyes and often in the eyes of his surroundings —and as a sick man in the satisfaction of his desire for prestige he acquires all sorts of advantages which he could not have won for himself in a straightforward way. However it is not only physical, chiefly "nervous," disturbances[163] that are used purposefully by asthenic psychopaths in this way, but also particular modes of behavior which they find at hand, that is, first of all *anxiety.* Many asthenics are originally timid and understand how to make their way in their environment through the production of secondary anxiety

[162] Even the outward behavior of many asthenics gives an impression of marked childishness, to which their special attitudes correspond which frequently are unmistakably childlike. The persistence in the child-parent bond frequently makes its appearance almost obtrusively.

[163] Sometimes particularly impressive use is made of the asthenic attack.

(anxiety states, phobias, "anxiety neuroses") as phobics conscious of their purpose. It may be mentioned that many asthenic psychopaths also make use of *anancastic* and *hypochondriacal* formations. Furthermore from their frequently sensitive elements there exist relationships to *paranoid* formations. Ultimately there are asthenic psychopaths who in hypochondriacal anxiety seclude themselves from the environment through all sorts of striking behavior and immediately appear *eccentric*. Most of these and other combinations have been already mentioned in other places so that further explanations are superfluous.

"I cannot" is the device of the asthenic psychopath who is destined from the start not to live but rather to suffer his life (Mathes), and who nevertheless attempts to mold this suffering in such a way that he may "get something out of it." Obviously in this attitude a particular tendency is indicated—the assumption of the martyr's rôle. In asthenic martyrdom there is clearly shown how intensely psychopathic personalities are able to enjoy their "suffering."[164]

In the "I cannot" there is frequently concealed, however, "I will not"; the insufficiency is not only overvalued but also exaggerated and used as a pretext for the frightened withdrawal and evasion in the face even of such difficulties which some asthenics would be perfectly able to master. This can be observed in the case of many professional and social conflicts in these personalities. Such complications (change of profession, frequent change of position, complaint about

[164] Usually marked masochistic traits are present. Sadistic inclinations are not to be overlooked in the delight in torturing the surroundings. A masochistic component must be assumed in the patience with which some husbands of asthenic and similar tormentors take up their cross.

hard work and so on) often lead to the assumption of a psychopathic "instability."

Example

Helmuth Har., born in 1908, is a markedly asthenic person of medium stature. As a child he was repeatedly ill. In school, which he frequently changed, he did not get along in spite of his industry. He was always nervous, cool, and shy, with few friends. He was very reserved, sensitive, and ready to feel himself slighted. At the age of 17 he began masturbation which he practiced every four weeks to the accompaniment of self-reproach. He had never had sexual intercourse. From his 16th year on he had almost daily headaches, especially after physical exertion even of the mildest nature, for example stooping down. He recovered from physical illness very slowly. He had been unable to accept a voluntary mercantile position with splendid prospects because of headache and trouble with his nose (deviated septum). He was an unintelligent, delicate, shy young man of perfect manners; polite, reserved, cool, without any energy.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic.
Impulse-life: impulsively weak, psychosexually infantile (masturbator).
Temperament: cool with elements of sensitiveness.
Character: passive autistic.
Asthenic psychopath.

The 29-year-old Theresa Harl., was of medium stature and markedly asthenic. Her mother died of tuberculosis. From her childhood onward she was anxious and weakly, wetting the bed up to her 15th year. She got along well in school. At the age of 16 she had a strumectomy. Menstruation which began in her 18th year is irregular and accompanied with cramps. From her 16th year onward she was almost always under medical treatment for her nerves. She had palpitation and suffered from great weakness and weariness. In 1920 she was in a sanatorium for tuberculosis. At the age of 21 a husband

was thrust upon her by her mother, although she herself had no desire to marry. From the time of her marriage "everything was impossible." Her husband was an inn-keeper, drank, treated her without understanding and occasionally even brutally. Sexually she was cool. Immediately after her marriage she developed a nervously weak heart and dyspnoea, since she had been entirely enervated, having continually to "lie down." During her one pregnancy she was almost continuously in bed. At the age of 28 she had to have an operation (ovarian tumor) which made her condition still worse. For a while she fell alseep about every ten days and remained unconscious for two or three days (not observed in the clinic), after which she was trembly, fearful and so weak that she could scarcely talk.

In the clinic this woman with her little intelligence gave an impression of being intimidated. She was gentle, slightly depressed, and showed a certain hysterical coquetry. She had a great need for consolation and help.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic.
Impulse-life: impulsively weak.
Temperament: cool, anxious, with sensitive element.
Character: passive autistic, with egocentric traits (hysterical elements).
Asthenic psychopath.

Bridget Fahl. was 30 years old; an asthenic girl below medium height, with infantile traits. Her father was a strict, serious, somewhat peculiar man, her mother a psychopathic woman who had drunk for a long time. Her only sister, on whom the father was said to be very dependent, was married and was reported to be entirely healthy. One brother had died. B. F. had been, according to her report, a merry child. She became conspicuous when it was necessary to change schools at the age of 12 because her father was transferred. She no longer enjoyed school. She had never had friends. In the high school she was supposed to have been "tormented" by a teacher, became anxious and would not give any more answers; she had never given up this behavior. Soon there were

quarrels with the father whom she could tolerate only at a distance, although inwardly strongly bound to him. After a scene with the principal she left the high school after which she was for a while depressed and ashamed. Her father was strict; she was afraid of him and felt herself unhappy. For a while she got along well in a boarding school but refused to learn to cook, as usual without giving any reason. At this time her brother was killed on the battle field as a result of which people left her in peace, and later she decided to be instructed in cooking. When she found out that her present teacher had been informed by her father of her behavior and so had become considerate of her, she entirely stopped answering questions in class.

At the age of 20 for the first time she came under medical treatment for her nerves. To her physician she spoke openly only occasionally but then and now refused to answer or merely gave an apparently silly answer. She wrote the physician many letters in which she excused herself, but also occasionally showed a slovenly tone, a familiarity for which there was no reason. She was very markedly bound to this physician whose efforts on her behalf made her preparation for the university possible. She had been in his clinic for weeks and apparently felt herself very much at home there. Whereas earlier she had not infrequently appeared depressive under pressure of anxiety, insecurity and feelings of inferiority, refusing almost hostilely all occupation and work, in the latter years she had become at least outwardly somewhat more balanced. She studied medicine and passed her preclinical examination. Earlier she had had no interest and even at this time little interest could be demonstrated in the medical profession although she seemed to show a certain curiosity with regard to psychiatric matters. She was shy and awkward in attitudes and movements. She was always self-absorbed and had never sought a close relationship with anyone. In talking with her no personal relationship was possible. She could be malicious, sometimes had a quick repartee and liked to make sarcastic remarks about her surroundings. But this also took place without enthusiasm. Now and then she seemed somewhat subdued but never actually depressed. Occasionally anancastic mani-

festations were observed: for a while she always had to go up two steps at a time and so on. She liked to be comfortable, and disliked making an effort, on the other hand she evidently enjoyed thoroughly taking up other people's time and burdening them with her silence or her complaints. She still liked best to play the part of the stubborn child. Although physically delicate she was able occasionally to develop a tenacious energy rising from her attitude of defiance, after which again she became indolent and negativistic. She was never completely free from anxiety. On account of her shyness, awkward manner and whole behavior, she gave the impression of an eccentric old maid. She was moderately intelligent. According to her report there were no menstrual disturbances. She had never had sexual relations, but was obviously sexually curious and showed now and then a touch of ashamed erotic coquetry. On the whole one could not but get the impression that inwardly she was not too displeased with herself and apparently no longer suffered greatly within herself.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic, with infantile elements.
Impulse-life: weak in impulse.
Temperament: cool, anxious, with poikolothymic traits, sensitive.
Character: passive autistic, with considerable egocentric elements, strong resentment.
Infantile asthenic psychopath.

Eleanor Eck. is a very tall asthenic woman of 30 years. Her father was a thoroughly capable energetic man who was an official of middle rank and had occupied for years a particularly influential position, and with the mother had spoiled their single child. Because of the position of the father the social position of the daughter was a little peculiar. A fact which worked out more unhappily when later for economic reasons, and in order not to remain inactive longer, she accepted a position as a secretary in a state institution which was little adjusted to her aspirations, and where the young academic members treated her less as a lady than as an employee. She

learned readily and allowed herself to be pampered. She had never had any particular illnesses. She had rather superficial relationships with other girls. A somewhat vigorous caress by a friend of her father destroyed her "joy in life and her belief in mankind." She allowed herself to be downcast for many years and underwent a serious aggravation in her condition when she met the gentleman again one day by accident. Attempts to keep herself professionally active were for some time vain because "she couldn't stand it physically."

She found her way to the same physician who had treated B. F. and attached herself in the same way, visiting him repeatedly for many years. E. E. was well cared for and had a certain grace. She was a little affected. Of moderate intelligence but with a formal dexterity, she stressed the lady in her behavior somewhat obtrusively. What she had learned she was able to use cleverly in conversation. She spoke readily of artistic matters and of her occasional historic studies. In all this she used superlatives and unmistakably endeavored to make a good impression. She frequently was in a somewhat childlike and sad mood, which however did not go deeply and in which her need for consolation and dependence seemed particularly accentuated. Moreover she could weep childishly for a long time. On the whole she was vivacious, friendly and had a certain superficial interest in things. She was cool but not without good nature. In her judgment she was overbearing and dogmatic. She liked to stress her great sensitiveness and to turn with shuddering aplomb from the crudity of the world and particularly of men. She was able to be very coquettish and betrayed much sexual curiosity. She had never had sexual relations. Sexual appetite was not apparent.

Structural analysis:

Physique: asthenic.

Impulse-life: impulsively weak.

Temperament: cool, sensitive, with poikilothymic traits.

Character: predominantly passive autistic, strong resentment, considerable egocentric components (need for prestige, overcompensation).

Asthenic psychopath.

CHAPTER X

CONCERNING PSYCHOPATHIC COURSES

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

IN a consideration of the course a clinico-psychiatric point of view is included. Here under the comprehensive term "courses" an attempt will not be made to place the psychopathic personalities in definite clinical relationships, but rather to designate the various types in which psychopathic manifestations can run their course in time. It is true side by side with special actual relationships there exist some parallels to psychotic courses. Nevertheless such identities and similarities are relatively inconsiderable in comparison with the fact that in general psychopathic courses correspond to human destinies.[1] *The course of the psychopathic life is the course of life itself* and is to be distinguished only by one or another particular accentuation. From the point of view of course, psychopaths take their place in the immense multitude of human individualities. Furthermore it is impossible to explain here or to describe everything which occurs. One must be confined inevitably to the mention of a few typical courses.

The saying, "In your breast are the stars of your fate," has a complete validity as applied to psychopathic courses. Without neglecting the fact that the psychopathic personality also lives constantly subject to the general influence of its *Anlagen* and the environ-

[1] Even in this field we cannot draw sharp boundaries. There are some diseases which determine the individual destiny from birth to death; however, that is not usually the case.

ment, one cannot but find it striking that many psychopathic personalities have a peculiar *constitutional "ictus"* on the basis of their physical impulsive and temperamental causality, which not only exposes them to particular environmental influences in a high degree, but furthermore causes them to seek these influences outside themselves. There exists *an affinity between personality and experience,* differing in different psychopathic types. There may be recalled the constantly occurring conflicts of many persons impulsively weak and insecure, the indestructible joy in life of the euphoric, the ponderosity of the depressive, the vulnerability of the sensitive, to name but a few examples. They all steer toward the experiences for which they have an affinity. This affinity becomes increased by the manner in which finality has built upon the causal bases of the psychopathic personality; desire for power and for prestige, resentment, etc., are no accidental formations but stand in close relationship to the causal substructure of the personality.

The affinity between causal-final personality structure and experience is further accentuated by the fact that in the individual stages of development of the personality particular experiences or groups of experiences become significant even in normals and more definitely in psychopathics.[2] It is therefore necessary to bring the experiences, that is, the environmental influences on the personality and its elaborations of them, into a certain constitutional connection with the personality. Concerning this connection it may be possible to say that the manner, intensity, and extensiveness of the experience in everyone correspond to his *constitutional capacity for experience.* In the developmental al-

[2] Cf. the discussion of evolutionary anachronisms.

teration of the structure or of the constitutional totality of the personality is also involved its capacity for experience. The total developmental change is a dynamic manifestation founded in the constitution. With its consideration the *concept of constitution* receives essentially *dynamic* character. Storch rightly calls attention to the fact that the concept of constitution received an apparently static character only as a result of considering it frequently in cross section. "In reality the constitutional manifestations are in constant flux."[3]

The fundamental factors of the "*curve of individual development*" (Hoffmann) are the *physical* and the *impulse-life;* to these are joined, according to our method of consideration, first *temperament* and then *character.* In a certain sense the developmental curve is dominated by the impulse-life in which in this connection the impulse to development (impulse to self-development) should be stressed. I should like to say the curve of the impulse to self-development is the axis in the total development of the personality. It determines in the first place the height and the tempo of ascent and descent of the developmental curve, and thus essentially the "*fate line*" of the personality.

The course of the developmental curve even normally runs into exceptional situations during puberty and the involutional period. These exceptional conditions become of increased significance in psychopathic personalities in the evolutionary anachronisms.[4]

[3] As are those of the entire personality. Some factors, however, change more slowly than others, as for example, the dominant goal ideas.

[4] The same manifestations from another point of view, Hoffmann and other authors have designated as evolutional and involutional anomalies of constitution.

A. CONCERNING EVOLUTIONARY ANACHRONISMS

This term is used to designate the very frequent fact that in the structure of a personality *developmental processes or conditions* become effective *which do not correspond to its age level,* for which the personality according to its chronological age and corresponding phase of development is too young or too old. *Pubertas praecox* and *senium praecox* belong here. In view of the great rôle which has been rightly ascribed to inhibitions in development for the rise and the formation of psychopathic manifestations, a short discussion of evolutionary anachronisms may be expedient.

I cannot give here a detailed presentation of the normal development of the personality in childhood, adolescence, maturity, involutional period, and old age.[5] The individual development of the child to adulthood is normally marked by the gradual separation of ego and environment which is accompanied by the awakening of the ego-consciousness.[6] The personality, which in a child without knowledge of ego and environment, is entirely absorbed in its own world, in maturing, comes to terms with the world and in adulthood turns consciously toward the world and the tasks which it sets. In the decline of the life curve the individual again turns more away from the world and toward his ego. In this development the psychic and physical are intimately bound up; this becomes particularly evident in those stages which bear a specific evolutional stigma, puberty and the climacterium of the woman.

Puberty and the female climacterium even normally

[5] I refer to Storch's excellent discussion of the concept of development in psychopathology. He also gives a bibliography.

[6] The same contrast has been expressed in another connection and from another point of view as the opposition of the world of the child to reality. Cf. p. 397.

mean a heavy trial for the personality. During these stages a transformation is accomplished within the personality against which it is largely defenseless. In the expositions of the development of the impulse-life this was discussed at length. There the fact was mentioned that the psychic manifestations of these critical phases frequently cannot be delimited from the psychopathic, and that one may frequently speak of psychopathic puberty, or puberal psychopathy, and so on. In the same place mention was made of the significance of prolonged puberty which is to be regarded as an evolutionary anachronism. Their counterpart is to be seen in the manifestations of precocious maturity which were likewise mentioned in that connection. It is possible to ask whether the manifestations of premature or delayed maturity and analogous aberrations during the climacterium, are signs of psychopathy, or whether the psychopathic comes into being through these manifestations. I think such a question would be wrongly stated. The evolutionary anachronisms occur on the same constitutional basis from which the psychopathic manifestations proceed, which are causally closely connected with them; it signifies a direct effect of the evolutionary anachronisms as well as of the causally given psychopathic manifestations when the psychopathic (the dystonic attitudes) attain full development in character (in finality). The intellectually or sexually premature child, the precocious child, out of the discrepancy between his total psychic make-up and his childlike physical condition must arrive at false set-goals since he is no longer attached to his contemporaries and is not yet attached to his elders. The person who is adult in years but whose sexual development is not completed (psychosexual infantilism) must also be driven to conflicts in his set-goals. He is sup-

posed to have grown beyond childhood and adolescence and still is unable to find his place with those of his own age on equal terms. It is obvious that opportunity is thus given for numerous psychopathic pseudotelic formations: erotic and sexual derailments and aberrations, active and passive autistic, particularly also egocentric attitudes and further developments (desire for prestige, resentment, overcompensation, persistence of child-parent ties) come into being according to the particular causal structure of the individual and the manifold effects of the environment (bad education, lack of understanding of any sort, etc.). Organ inferiorities and the often startlingly unfeeling attitude of their fellow men toward them can be of significance.

Frequently these psychopathic manifestations pertaining to precocious or delayed maturity do not compensate. Fortunately they occasionally fall into the background at about the fourth decade. However, not unusually they may become conspicuous once more with the approach of the involutional period or the passing of the prime of life; then they may appear in another shape as a result of physical reasons which are caused by the changes in the descent of life, and as a result of certain psychic attitudes interfering in this period of life. Here the fact should be taken into consideration that many psychopaths age relatively early and assume a resistant or resigned attitude to this circumstance. I recall the frequently grotesque dread of aging and the regret over "lost opportunities" in many women at the term of the fourth or fifth decades, which indeed may not be foreign even to men.[7] There occurs at this time, now and then, an increase of impulse-life,

[7] An evolutional anachronism in one or both spouses disrupts many marriages.

to which is to be traced many an erotic and sexual experience which deranges personalities at this age, makes them appear "unstable" and even may drive them to suicide.

Ultimately during the period of decline in many psychopathic persons who have never really become mature there becomes evident the striking split between their "eternal youth," that is their lack of a completed development, and their exhaustion through age, they lack the dignity of age, are unsatisfied and disillusioned with life and many seek (finally) to acquire as much as possible for the benefit of their ego-prestige through all types of psychopathic demonstrations (increased demands on the environment, tutelage of children already grown up, "nervous" and "neurotic" manifestations of various sorts).

These evolutionary anachronisms in their *psychoplastic form* (for example, sexual perversions, sensitive or sensitive-paranoid reactions and developments, hypochondriacal and anancastic manifestations, etc.) follow chiefly the causal structure of the personality. Nevertheless experiences are frequently elaborated as to their contents (for example, in fetishism, in compulsive and hypochondriacal phenomena, etc.), and may in rare cases help in the realization of the false direction of development. All this can only be suggested here. In chapter ix there are examples of most of the possibilities.

It is necessary to stress emphatically the fact that here as everywhere in the realm of the psychopathic the causal foundations must be exactly ascertained. The final attitudes, the dystonic behavior, in particular the so-called neuroses, which I have designated as pseudotelies, are only *one* side, frequently only the deceptive outside of the total psychopathic manifesta-

tion. In the inadequate consideration of this matter is founded much of the all too great psychotherapeutic optimism, particularly the statement of certain supposed cures, which on closer observation appear as very modest pseudo-successes.

B. PSYCHOPATHIC COURSES

Not every single quality or feature in a psychopathic personality is psychopathic and not all psychopaths react and behave psychopathically at all times and in all situations. Side by side with psychopaths whose life course is composed of an uninterrupted chain of psychopathic manifestations there are many in whom psychopathic manifestations appear transitorily. It is my opinion that the insufficient appreciation of this fact is one of the most essential reasons for the exaggeration of the dispensable concept of "neurosis."

Among the transitory psychopathic manifestations the episodic and periodic psychopathies are to be distinguished. The chief criterion of the *episodic psychopathies* is their coming and going; in this they have a certain outward kinship with types of acute illness in general pathology. Psychopathic episodes may occur at any time in life. In the main they appear on the basis of an inner foundation in the physique, impulse-life, and temperament, although frequently outward factors participate. The greater this latter element is, the greater become the final, the "neurotic" superstructures of the episodes, and the more they receive the stamp of the *psychopathic or psychogenic reactions.* Puberty and the climacterium represent periods of predilection for the episodic psychopathies. Nevertheless they may play a rôle even in childhood and are not unknown in pregnancy. These connections are important because they throw light on the deep connections

of the psychopathic with biological processes. This is true in the same way for the episodic peculiarities of the impulse-life and of the temperament.

The episodic psychopathies may break out repeatedly as already mentioned,[8] but not necessarily each time in the same form. They are not sharply distinguished from the second type of transitory course, that is, the *periodic psychopathies*. The appearance of these latter within and without the critical periods of life is certainly essentially dependent on *Anlagen*. Outer factors may occasionally participate as the proximate cause or as "coördinate causes." Compared with the episodic psychopathies the periodic psychopathies are distinguished by their greater frequency and often by a certain regularity of their appearance. They are predominantly dysthymic and, first of all, poikilothymic manifestations. The picture given by the individual periods may be the same but various forms occur in regular variety as well as in irregular change. Some of the periodic psychopathies belong clinically among the circular cycle; dystonic manifestations are frequently connected with them and may rather greatly influence the psychoplastic of the single periods. It is to be observed that the endogenous periods which are fading seem prolonged by the persistence of dystonic formations. The psychopathic periods run their own course and so offer to uncritical psychotherapists a particularly fruitful field of supposedly successful activity. The understanding of the nature of periodic psychopathy is aided by a parallel with menstruation in which a dependence of the accompanying psychic manifestations from periodic processes is obvious (Hauptmann). Furthermore, psychopathic manifestations and exacer-

[8] Here belong among others Kurt Schneider's "intermittent reactions."

bations are frequent at the time of menstruation as is well known; they may be counted among the periodic psychopathies.

There are psychopathic episodes of considerable duration and periodic psychopathic episodes in which the periods succeed each other with little or no pause (certain poikilothymics). Such cases represent the transition to *persistent psychopathic states* which, beginning frequently in early youth, determine the total behavior of the personality throughout decades or the whole of life. We have cited a number of such cases. The persistent psychopathic state by no means always presents the same picture: as a result of inner processes and of experiences, manifold pictures may appear by turns in the same case. Episodic exacerbations and periodic elements (for example, vacillations of mood) present further connections with the episodic and periodic forms. Final superstructure and final transformations, the removal of which is possible under certain circumstances, may interlard the persistent psychopathies in the form of "neurotic" manifestations. The fact of gradual transitions between episodic, periodic, and the persistent psychopathies suggest the supposition that biological processes may be basic to the latter also.

In episodic, periodic, and persistent psychopathies changes of the pictures and far-reaching transformations usually occur from within, but also occur as a result of the environment. Many psychopaths in the transition from the third to the fourth decade become more balanced, they steady themselves. Many seem to be made milder and more sociable by progressive age, while others with the ultimate failure of their life aspirations and with the approach of the end of life become still more unbalanced and more difficult. Hoff-

mann has repeatedly referred to what he calls the change of manifestation;[9] in it various psychopathic *Anlagen* come successively into effect. Changes are involved which are perceptible even in the normal. Concerning these manifestations in man it has been said that three periods develop in which love, stomach, and defecation come by turns to occupy the foreground of interest. The transition from the young prostitute to the pious old maid is proverbial. The earlier discussion may be recalled in which it was stated that a displacement of accent takes place in the impulse-life. We are supposedly concerned with this also in cases of formal personality changes of the sort of the hypomaniac Häusser, who according to the presentation made by Reiss, developed from a sophisticated man of the world into an exaggeratedly energetic preacher of penitence.

Similar manifestations lead through the persistent psychopaths to the fourth type of psychopathic course, to the *psychopathic developments*. These may set in of themselves or take their departure from an episodic, periodic, or persistent psychopathy. They may terminate in persistent psychopathic states and reach these at one stride or in more or less separated stages of their development which, like the beginning of their development, may show various dependences on the environmental influences (experiences). Single psychopathic developments are in part completely capable of disintegration and so show a connection with the episodic type of course. Episodic and periodic exacerbations occur frequently within psychopathic develop-

[9] Here we are dealing with developmental changes, particularly at various ages, with poikilothymic manifestations, and with the incidence and recession of particular personality structures which are completely conditioned by *Anlage*.

ments. In these the final side plays the greatest rôle among all psychopathic courses.[10] Here we are dealing with extremes of psychopathic character formations which aim to rescue the threatened self-value by bringing it on another level which may not be easily reachable by the environment. So out of the necessity of founding the ego on an individually developed and unassailable *Weltanschauung* there frequently arises a marked tendency toward systematization which is indeed not possible in every personality structure. In addition to the *sensitive and expansive paranoid developments* which are most familiar there are *hysterical, hypochondriacal, and anancastic developments.* It is also possible to speak of autistic developments. The particular connection of psychopathic developments with the dystonic character types is readily understood from our point of view from the plasticity of the character. That in all this, physique, impulse-life, and temperament are causally of the highest significance may need no further evidence. Among the particular environmental conditionings which may play a rôle in psychopathic developments certain social situations should be mentioned which, to be sure, must find a resonance in the psychopathic peculiarity of the personality, in its constitutional capacity for experience (unsatisfactory professional position, unmarried state, "social hysteria" of Kretschmer's, etc.); many cases are highly influenceable, some react to far-reaching alterations of the *milieu* with extensive changes in their attitudes. Others remain so refractory and even in the most insignificant trifles so inflexible that with respect to their biological foundations a relationship to schizophrenia

[10] On this account these are with preference designated as "neuroses" or superfluously as "psychoneuroses."

may be considered. In view of the biological substructure of every development one cannot but assume biological bases for psychopathic development. It has just been suggested that this foundation is to be sought in the causal levels of the personality.

As has been repeatedly noted, the various types of psychopathic course stand in varied relationship to the strata of the personality. It may be possible that from a closer consideration of these relationships, which cannot be discussed here in further detail, one or another indication of the particular biological bases of individual psychopathic manifestations may be attained.

C. PSYCHOPATHIC DESTINIES

Consideration of the formal courses is one-sided, in so far as it releases the psychopathic from the personality and considers it in its course as such. Although from biological and dynamic points of view consideration of the course is undoubtedly justified and necessary, nevertheless this can never make it unnecessary to devote attention to the whole course of the psychopathic personality, that is, to the *destiny* of the psychopathic personality.

Each personality has its destiny, that is, its individual life course, which proceeds from the coöperation of environmental and *Anlage* factors. The extent to which the environmental factors are assimilated by the personalities' constitutional capacity for experience has been mentioned. In a fundamentally important investigation of twins, Lange showed "to what a far-reaching degree our whole fate is determined by *Anlage.*" The straightforwardness with which many personalities go to meet their destiny is no less conditioned by *Anlage* than the effort made by others to escape

from their destiny. Each destiny is unique. Nevertheless from various points of view it is possible to classify groups of typical destinies or *types of destiny* on the basis of common factors. By ordinary destiny is to be understood a destiny which is marked by its commonplaceness, its bareness; negatively expressed, through the lack of peculiarity. Various as are the personalities and their individual destinies within one's profession, typical professional destinies are recognized and something typical is pictured when the destiny of the artist, investigator, soldier, or of pensioners, beggars, tramps, is mentioned. From the point of view of success in community life the destiny types of the successful and the disillusioned, of the climbers and the failures, may be contrasted with each other. Furthermore it is typical that soft people have different destinies from hard ones, and that healthy persons have different destinies from sickly or sick ones. Utitz has distinguished between endogenous characters and destiny characters. The former "are firm, inflexible, little moldable through influences from without. They may build up for themselves an environment suitable for them unless they are placed directly in such an environment, and changes of the environment leave them untouched." Nevertheless the endogenous character is not necessarily hard. If he is able to develop "only in the direction of gentleness, he pays the price also with his ruin." Conversely, the elastic destiny character can also be "hard," "but this hardness does not exclude the possibility that the shock of experiences may alter him in the direction of these experiences." The development of the destiny character "is predominantly reactive, determined by the 'life,' " but—and here Utitz does justice to the constitutional foundation of the "destiny character"—"it is essential to it to be mold-

able by destiny in this very form, and thus within broad limits to be exposed to destiny."

All the points of view enumerated are directly applicable to the consideration of psychopathic destinies. Nevertheless there are also *typical psychopathic destinies* of which three major types closely bound together by many transitional forms may be outlined briefly.

1. Psychopathic factors—qualities, reactions, episodes, periods, and also persistent states—may determine sooner or later the destiny of the personality, until it succeeds in freeing itself from the psychopathic influences. There are psychopathic personalities who succeed in walling off the psychopathic within themselves—here I am thinking among others of certain anancastics—and in accomplishing their destiny without allowing themselves to be essentially diverted by the influence of their psychopathic *Anlagen.* I recall an utterance of Kraepelin's which may appear almost paradoxical: "One can be psychopathic but one may not allow one's actions to be psychopathically determined." There is no doubt that in these personalities we are dealing almost exclusively with men of worth. In a certain sense a remark made by Otto Kant applies to them: "The worthy neurotics and psychopaths come to terms with their difficulties—often through heroic struggle—within themselves." Such personalities indeed come to terms with their psychopathic make-up, they accustom themselves to it and speak of it occasionally with a fine self-irony. They come to a secondary balance of their psychopathic discordance. However, they do not resign at all but turn, frequently with great success, to the tasks of the community. With this their destiny ceases to be a psychopathic destiny in the proper sense.

2. The personality becomes implicated early, mostly even in childhood in "pathogenic" experiences and situations as a result of which it is forced into final psychopathic attitudes, to be sure, according to my conviction, never without corresponding predispositions in its causal strata. As a result of causes given in *Anlagen* and environment such psychopathic attitudes may be maintained for a long time or even permanently. In this group belongs the attitude which the Adlerian school fundamentally, and with a one-sided overstressing of environmental factors, subsumes as the attitude of discouragement with all its consequences. The more deeply these dystonic attitudes are anchored in the causal strata the more they are uninfluenceable through therapeutic attempts.

3. The personality is, on the basis of its physical, impulsive, and temperamental endowment, psychopathic in so high a degree that its destiny is thereby determined. The constitutional capacity for experience is characterized by the extraordinary prominence of the affinity between personality and experiences (for example, certain psychopathic unfortunates). The capacity for psychopathic experience in such types can render every experience psychopathic or "pathogenic." These personalities suffer from everything because they suffer continuously from themselves. One might see among them psychopaths in the strictest sense. Not last, there belong among them asthenic and infantile asthenic psychopaths whose destiny is determined by their physical endowment. It is true, one ought not to forget that many of these persons come to terms in their own way with their "suffering," and, feeling themselves tolerably well as they are, set out to win from the environment the greatest possible gain corresponding to their desire for prestige.

The first case runs over into the normal through many varieties and thus in a certain sense does not belong entirely in the particular realm of psychopathic destinies; nevertheless it is related to them. In the second and third cases which similarly are bound up through transitions, there is given the material for two series of marked types of psychopathic destiny which, according to the predominance of the effects proceeding from environment or from *Anlagen,* may be designated as *typical psychopathic environmental destinies,* or *typical psychopathic Anlage destinies.* The former corresponds in many ways to the destiny characters and the latter to the endogenous characters of Utitz.

Examples may illustrate these two destiny types. The struggle of a plaintiff for recompense, the overcompensation of a person with organ inferiority, the isolation of an eccentric, the life romance of an enemy of society, are typical psychopathic destinies. With the plaintiff for recompense and with the overcompensating person it is predominantly a matter of environmental destiny; with the eccentric and with the enemy of society it is predominantly a matter of *Anlage* destiny. With all this, however, the fact may not be overlooked that there would be neither contention nor overcompensation, without the presence of certain *Anlagen,* and that eccentrics and enemies of society cannot get along without the environment and its effects. The eccentrics derive from the environment the stimulus to isolation and find in the environment the substratum from which they try to isolate themselves. To the enemies of society the environment gives the stimulus and stage for the operation of their enmity against society. From other points of view it is possible to say that with *Anlage* destinies, the causal, and with the environmental destinies, the final psychopathic factors pre-

dominate;[11] nevertheless the *Anlage* destinies are just as little free from psychopathic finality as are the environmental destinies from psychopathic causality. Into each destiny there enters the causal-final totality of the personality.

It is impossible here even to suggest all psychopathic destinies. Between the formal courses and the two destiny types there obviously exist many relationships. These are particularly close between the persistent psychopathic states and developments on the one side, and the psychopathic destiny types on the other. Psychopathic episodes and periods may become significant for environmental as well as for *Anlage* destinies. Many a psychopathic destiny is irrevocably determined by the regular appearance of psychopathic periods. Side by side with outer factors there are chiefly certain poisons (alcohol, morphine, cocaine) which are able to influence and to destroy psychopathic destinies. Just here the deep-reaching effect of *Anlage* becomes obvious again, in so far as one person still may be able to deny himself the misuse of these poisons whereas another person's destiny may be sealed with the first step toward the poison.

Frequently the point of time in which an outer experience occurs or an inner transformation takes place may be of decisive importance. It will lead to very different results whether for example a supposed or actual legal reverse, or the removing (*Entwurzelung*) from a familiar environment, is experienced in a period of psychopathic irritation or in a state of physical and psychic equilibrium. The happy solution of the sexual question may be able to turn even a highly imperiled

[11] The relative fixity of the causal layers and the moldability of character by the influences of the environment may be recalled.

destiny into satisfactory paths. The dissolution of an unhappy marriage can set afloat again the stranded ship of life of a psychopath; it is true, the destiny of many psychopaths is definitely determined by the consequence of marriage.[12]

From the many ends of human destinies which are to be found in psychopaths, although with slight variations, a few may be brought forth as *typical psychopathic ends.*

A favorable end result of destiny which is not infrequent may be termed *saturation.* By this is meant the fact that some psychopathic personalities are able to satisfy their need for prestige to such a high degree through their success in community life that their psychopathic or essentially psychopathic symptoms recede markedly and may even disappear entirely. To be sure there are also psychopaths who can never receive enough admiration from without to satisfy their desire for prestige; for example, collectors of decorations, titles, and honorary posts, whose insatiable joy in such distinctions in contrast to the frequently high stand-

[12] It is possible only to refer to the significance and peculiarity of psychopathic marriage. It illustrates strikingly the observation that psychopaths always find each other. The psychopathic couple live out their psychopathy in marriage against and with each other in the most manifold and many-colored forms. Here ambitendent attitudes celebrate extraordinary triumphs and make it possible to demonstrate particularly the persistence and continued effectiveness of abundant child-parent ties which then go down in an impressive manner to the children of such marriages. Divorces are rich sources for psychopathic manifestations and psychopathic destinies. Striving toward separation and being unable to get away from each other, many psychopaths make life a mutual hell even after the completed divorce; sometimes they show in another marriage that they have learned nothing. It is frequently possible from an understanding of the psychopathy of one spouse to deduce that of the mate in considerable detail.

ard of their intelligence, appears astonishingly child-like. In their boundless psychopathic vanity they may become ridiculous and unbearable, especially when they set out on every occasion with appropriate dramatization to dilate upon their actual and supposed merits. A conciliatory saturation is reached by some psychopaths when they find their way to religious faith sometimes through the effect of impressive experiences (conversion, inspiration). However, the religiousness of many psychopaths is exaggerated and distorted, and on closer observation may reveal itself as the ungenuine attempt for satisfaction of a frequently queer need for prestige.

The satisfaction of the desire for prestige also gives the final stamp to the end result of the psychopathic destiny, which I call *pseudo-victory.* Pseudo-victory is a psychopathic attitude through which the personality attempts to convince itself and the environment that it has been right. This cannot succeed without denying or depreciating a smaller or greater part of reality. Among the pseudo-victors belong many psychopathic sufferers and martyrs, furthermore the litigious and paranoiacs, and, ultimately, the majority of psychopathic habitual and professional criminals.

As the boundaries between saturation and pseudo-victory cannot be sharply drawn there also exist transitions between pseudo-victory and the end result of *resignation.* Many psychopaths who have been failures or disappointed, and those who early show the attitude of defiance go their way to pseudo-victory or resignation. There are pseudo-victors and resigned psychopaths among the sufferers and martyrs. Psychopathic resignation may also appear masked as pseudo-victory or it may be acted (overcompensatory resignation). Some psychopathic dysphorics who throughout their

life suffer from bitterness and disillusion become straightforwardly resigned. In contrast to them are presenile and senile psychopaths who angrily repudiate all resignation, although the exhaustion pertaining to their age or even actually premature exhaustion should lead them to resignation; it is possible to assume certain relationships between them and the pseudo-victors. Psychopathic resignation means the relinquishing of a frequently hard battle for personal prestige; it may be accompanied by a more or less marked tendency to depreciate the goals toward which others have more successfully struggled and are still struggling.

A not infrequent typical psychopathic outcome is *suicide.*[13] Certainly the suicides of psychopaths are to be variously judged. Self-annihilation may be the last resort in despair, the evasion of inner and outer difficulties (for example, depressions, conflicts), which the psychopathic personality does not master, perhaps is not able to master because of its causal structure (resignation). The psychopathic suicide can however have the significance of a punishment and indeed of a punishment of the ego as well as of the environment, a fact which is occasionally demonstrated even in writing: "You are guilty of my blood" (pseudo-victory). With this a demonstration which is sometimes more defiant, sometimes more asthenic, finds expression, making of the suicide, so to speak, a last gesture with which the personality, supposedly misunderstood and slighted, wishes with an extreme effort to compel the environment to pay attention to it. Such suicidal gestures

[13] Obviously not every suicide is psychopathic. There are in addition to psychopathic suicides, psychotic suicides, and psychically normal suicides, as the hard experiences of the last years have shown with particular impressiveness.

are often emphasized by an impressive outer make-up. In the actually or apparently voluntary denial of the psychopathic suicide there is frequently contained an emphatic depreciation of the whole environment which he leaves behind: "You were not worthy of me, I was too good and too noble for your world."

The manifold causal correspondences in the personalities, the typical outcome of whose destinies has been discussed, make it highly probable that these outcomes also are not psychological accidents but rather have in some way their biological foundation. We may again refer in this connection to Lange's data with regard to twins. Concerning the nature of this biological basis, only very indefinite suppositions can be made. But certain parallel phenomena in the involutional and senile period, and observations concerning constitutional conditioning of the vital energy and the duration of life, at least give these suppositions a direction.

If it were once possible to approach somewhat nearer the factors in question much could be gained for *prognosis* with regard to psychopathies. At present an approximately certain prognosis concerning a psychopathic personality can be given only when in addition to its total structure its genealogical situation is exactly known. Experience has shown that in the judgment of the prognosis of psychopaths verified genealogical data are of greatest value. Frequently individual consanguineous psychopaths resemble each other extraordinarily in structure and destiny. To every experienced psychiatrist it has frequently happened that after a thorough investigation of the kin of a psychopath he has come across a relative of whom it was said "he was just the same." In many cases the hereditary conditions are even more evident. From them now and then prognoses may be made, when for

example frightened parents demand advice in connection with a startling psychopathic manifestation (the first criminal act, premature sexual manifestations, other evolutionary anachronisms, etc.).

Further discussion of the question of *heredity* does not fall within the present compass. With all valuation of environmental influences and their final elaborations it cannot be doubted that the essential bases of psychopathic manifestations are given in the hereditary endowment. This point of view has been again and again expressed in the foregoing discussion.

From it there results furthermore a non-pessimistic but rather critical attitude toward the question of *therapy* of the psychopathies. We do not possess a *causal* therapy of the psychopathies; medicinal or organotherapeutic attempts are in their earliest stages. *Final* therapy—and ultimately all psychotherapy with regard to psychopathic personalities is final—setting out from a basis of intimate knowledge of the personality has always to strive toward *psychagogic* effect. We are still unable and will perhaps always remain unable to change the constitutional structure of psychopathic personalities, but we can educate many of them to understand themselves, to come to terms with themselves, and to set themselves genuine goals which they may reach in spite of their psychopathic peculiarities. Since in psychopaths not everything is psychopathic it is possible to bring many of them to turn more and more toward their non-psychopathic *Anlagen,* and on this basis to deal successfully with their inner difficulties, at least to a certain degree. In such attempts it is expedient to call the psychopaths' attention to the fact that even *psychopathy lays responsibility on the individual. Psychopathy means not only aberration and difficulty but also differentiation*

and capacity for suffering. There exist relationships between psychopathic peculiarity and high gifts, even those of genius.[14] Insight into such relationships under appropriate leadership must in nowise drive the psychopath into "narcism." The physician, however, and the psychotherapist in particular, may be confirmed by this insight in that which fundamentally every man owes to every other: respect for his fellow man.

[14] Cf. Lange-Eichbaum.

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